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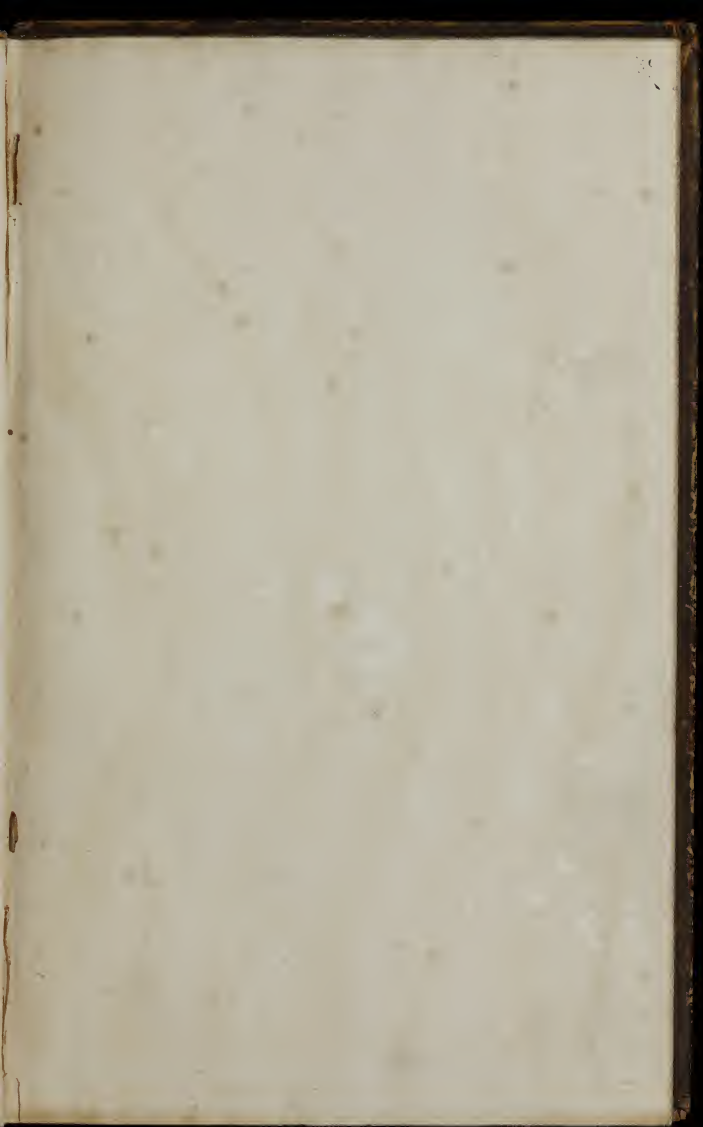


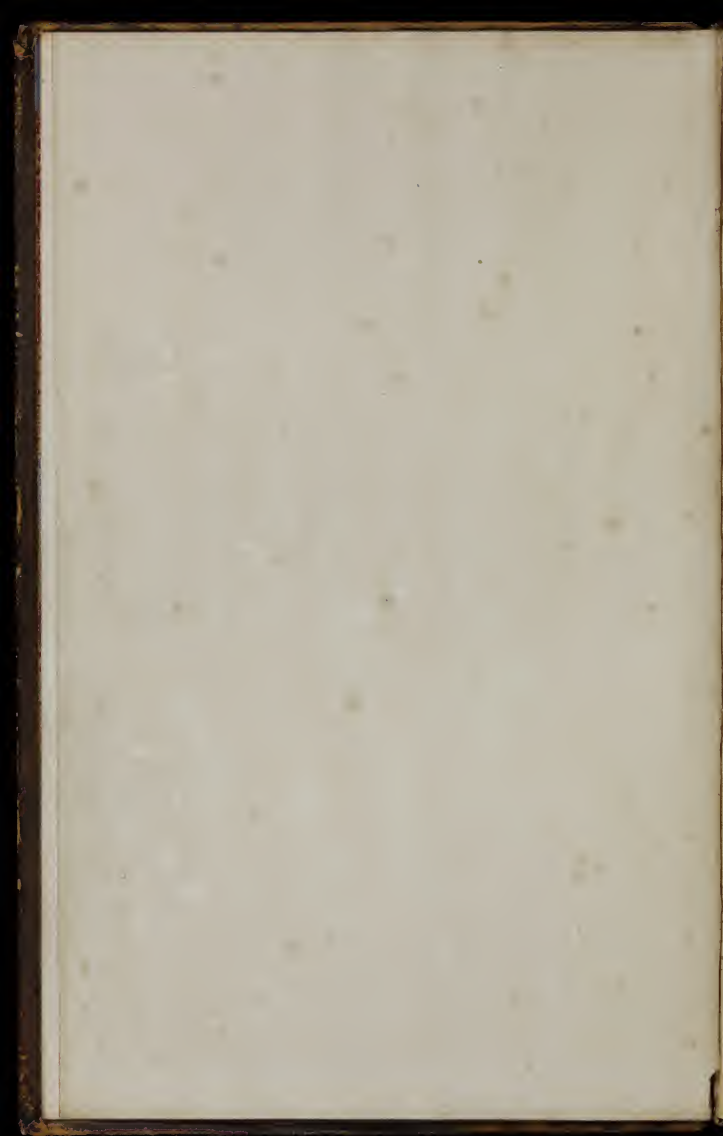
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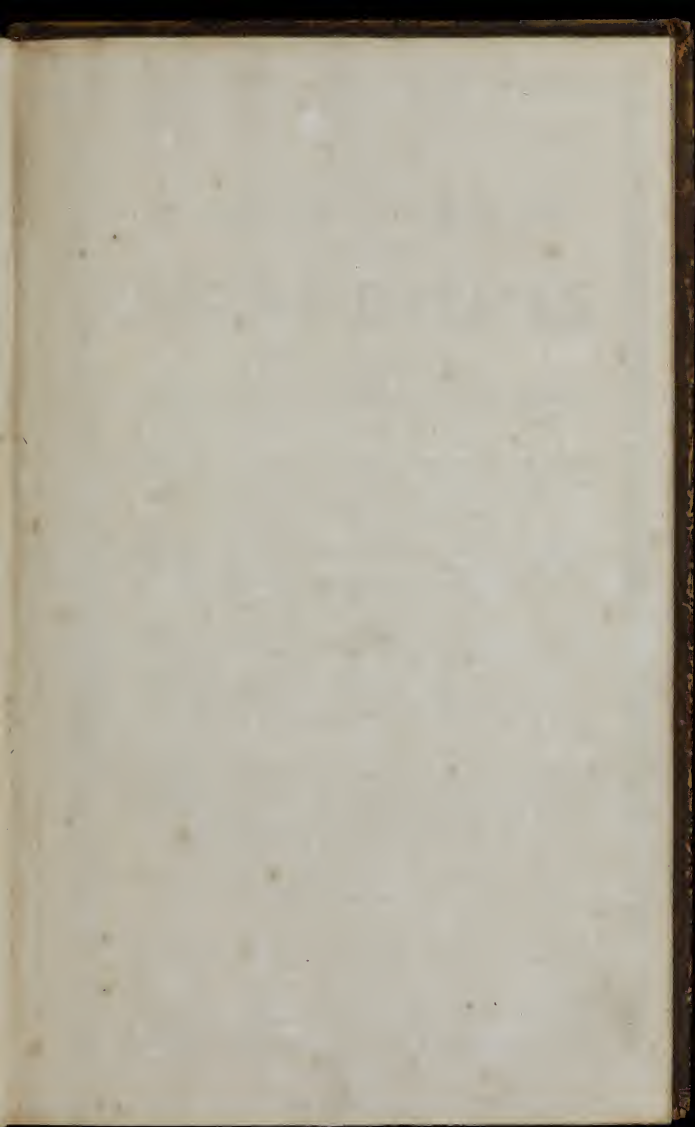
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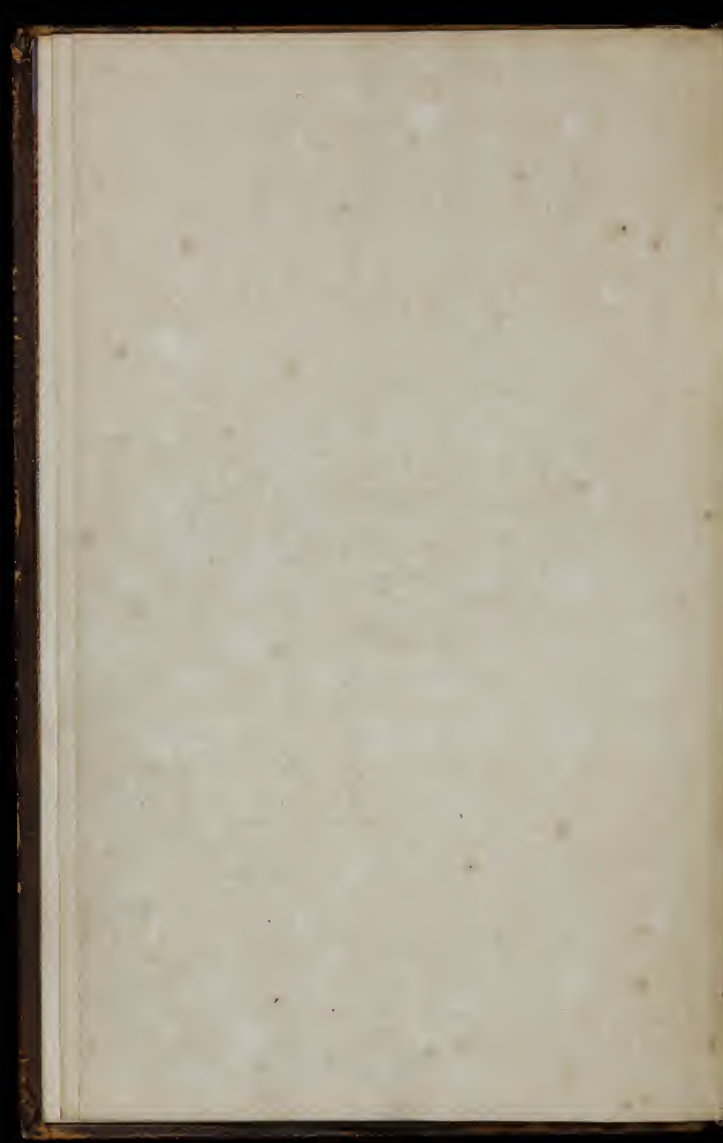
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The English-American his Travail by Sea and Land :
O R,
A NEW SURVEY
OF THE
WEST-INDIA'S,
CONTAINING

A Journall of Three thousand and Three hundred
Miles within the main Land of AMERICA.

Wherin is set forth his Voyage from *Spain* to *St. Iohn de Ulbua*;
and from thence to *Xalappa*, to *Tlaxcalla*, the City of *Angeles*, and
forward to *Mexico*; With the description of that great City,
as it was in former times, and also at this present.

Likewise his Journey from *Mexico* through the Provinces of *Gnaxaca*,
Chiapa, *Guatemala*, *Vera Paz*, *Truxillo*, *Comayagua*; with his
abode Twelve years about *Guatemala*, and especially in the
Indian-towns of *Mixco*, *Pinola*, *Petapa*, *Amatulan*.

As also his strange and wonderfull Conversion, and Calling from those
remote Parts to his Native COUNTRY.

With his return through the Province of *Nicaragua*, and *Costa Rica*,
to *Nicoja*, *Panama*, *Portobelo*, *Cartagena*, and *Havana*, with divers
occurents and dangers that did befall in the said Journey.

A L S O,

A New and exact Discovery of the Spanish Navigation to
those Parts; And of their Dominions, Government, Religion, Forts,
Castles, Ports, Havens, Commodities, fashions, behaviour of
Spaniards, Priests and Friers, Blackmores, Mulatto's, Mestizo's,
Indians; and of their Feasts and Solemnities.

With a Grammar, or some few Rudiments of the *Indian* Tongue,
called, *Poconchi*, or *Pocoman*.

By the true and painfull endeavours of THOMAS GAGE, now Preacher of
the Word of God at Acris in the County of KENT, Anno Dom. 1648.

London, Printed by R. Cotes, and are to be sold by Humphrey Blunden at the
Castle in Cornhill, and Thomas Williams at the Bible in Little Britain, 1648.

THE
NEW SURVEY
OF THE
WEST-INDIAS

BY
JOHN HARRIS

A FURTHER ADDITION TO THE
WEST-INDIAN SURVEY

BY
JOHN HARRIS

OF THE
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OF THE
WEST-INDIAN SURVEY



To His Excellency
S^r. THOMAS FAIRFAX Knight,
Lord FAIRFAX
O F
CAMERON,
CAPTAIN-GENERALL
of the Parliaments Army;
And of all their Forces in ENGLAND, and
the Dominion of WALES.

May it please your
EXCELLENCY,

THe Divine Providence hath hitherto so ordered my life, that for the greatest part thereof; I have lived (as it were) in exile from my native Countrey: which happened, partly, by reason of my education in the Romish Religion, and that in forraign Universities; and partly, by my entrance into Monasticall orders. For twelve years space of which time, I was wholly disposed of in that part of America called New-Spain, and the parts adjacent. My difficult going thither, being not permitted to any, but to those of the Spanish Nation; my long stay there; and lastly my returning home, not onely to my Country, but to the true knowledg and free-profession of the Gospels purity, gave me reason to conceive, That these great mercies were not appointed me by the heavenly Powers, to the end I should bury my Talent in the earth, or hide my light under a bushell, but that I should impart what I there saw and knew to the use

The Epistle Dedicatory.

and benefit of my English Country-men; And which the rather I held my self obliged unto, because in a manner nothing hath been written of these Parts for these hundred years last past, which is almost ever since the first Conquest thereof by the Spaniards, who are contented to lose the honour of that wealth and felicity they have there since purchased by their great endeavours, so they may enjoy the safety of retaining what they have formerly gotten in peace and security. In doing whereof, I shall offer no Collections, but such as shall arise from mine own observations, which will as much differ from what formerly hath been hereupon written, as the picture of a person grown to mans estate, from that which was taken of him when he was but a Childe; or the last hand of the Painter, to the first or rough draught of the picture. I am told by others, that this may prove a most acceptable work; but I doe tell my self, that it will prove both lame and imperfect, and therefore had need to shelter my self under the shadow of some high protection, which I humbly pray your Excellency to afford me; nothing doubting, but as God hath lately made your Excellency the happy instrument, not onely of saving my self, but of many numbers of godly and well-affected people in this County of Kent, (where now I reside by the favour of the Parliament) from the imminent ruine and destruction plotted against them by their most implacable enemies; so the same God who hath led your Excellency through so many difficulties towards the settlement of the peace of this Kingdom, and reduction of Ireland, will, after the perfecting thereof (which God of his mercy hasten) direct your Noble thoughts to employ the Souldiery of this Kingdom upon such just and honorable designs in those parts of America, as their want of action at home may neither be a burden to themselves nor the Kingdome. To your Excellency therefore I offer a New-World, to be the subject of your future pains, valour, and piety, beseeching your acceptance of this plain but faithfull relation of mine, wherein your Excellency, and by you the English Nation shall see what wealth and honor they have lost by one of their narrow hearted Princes, who living in peace and abounding in riches, did notwithstanding reject the offer of being first discoverer of America; and left it unto Ferdinando of Arragon, who at the same time was wholly taken up by the Warrs, in gaining of the City and Kingdome of Granada from the Moores; being so impoverished thereby, that he was compelled to borrow with some difficulty a few Crowns of a
very

The Epistle Dedicatory.

very mean man, to set forth Columbus upon so glorious an expedition. And yet, if time were closely followed at the heels, we are not so far behind, but we might yet take him by the fore-top. To which purpose, our Plantations of the Barbadoes, St. Christophers, Memes, and the rest of the Caribee-Islands, have not only advanced our journey the better part of the way; but so inured our people to the Climate of the Indies, as they are the more enabled thereby to undertake any enterprise upon the firm Land with greater facility. Neither is the difficulty of the attempt so great, as some may imagine; for I dare be bold to affirm it knowingly, That with the same pains and charge which they have been at in planting one of those petty Islands, they might have conquer'd so many great Cities, and large Territories on the main Continent, as might very well merit the title of a Kingdome. Our Neighbors the Hollanders may be our example in this case; who whilst we have been driving a private Trade from Port to Port, of which we are likely now to be deprived, have conquer'd so much Land in the East and West-Indies, that it may be said of them, as of the Spaniards, That the Sunn never sets upon their Dominions. And to meet with that objection by the way, That the Spaniard being intituled to those Countries, it were both unlawfull and against all conscience to dispossess him thereof. I answer, that (the Popes donation excepted) I know no title he hath but force, which by the same title, and by a greater force may be repelled. And to bring in the title of First-discovery, to me it seems as little reason, that the sailing of a Spanish Ship upon the coast of India, should intitle the King of Spain to that Countrey, as the sailing of an Indian or English Ship upon the coast of Spain, should intitle either the Indians or English unto the Dominion thereof. No question but the just right or title to those Countries appertains to the Natives themselves; who, if they shall willingly and freely invite the English to their protection, what title soever they have in them, no doubt but they may legally transferr it or communicate it to others. And to say, That the inhumane butchery, which the Indians did formerly commit in sacrificing of so many reasonable Creatures to their wicked Idols, was a sufficient warrant for the Spaniards to divest them of their Country; The same argument may by much better reason be enforced against the Spaniards themselves, who have sacrificed so many millions of Indians to the Idol of their barbarous cruelty, that many populous Islands
and

The Epistle Dedicatory.

and large Territories upon the main Continent, are thereby at this day utterly uninhabited, as Bartholomeo de las Casas, the Spanish Bishop of Guaxaca in New-Spain, hath by his Writings in Print sufficiently testified. But to end all disputes of this nature; since that God hath given the earth to the sons of Men to inhabite; and that there are many vast Countries in those parts, not yet inhabited either by Spaniard or Indian, why should my Country-men the English be debarred from making use of that, which God from all beginning no question did ordain for the benefit of mankind?

But I will not molest your Excellency with any further argument hereupon; rather offering my self, and all my weak endeavours (such as they are) to be employed herein for the good of my Country; I beseech Almighty God to prosper your Excellency, Who am

The most devoted and humblest of
your Excellencies servants,

THO. GAGE.



UPON



UPON
This WORTHY WORK,
Of his most worthy Friend
THE
AUTHOR.

READER, behold presented to thine eye,
What us *Columbus* off' red long agoe,
Of the *New-World* a new discoverie,
Which here our Author doth so clearly show;
That he the state which of these Parts would know,
Need not hereafter search the plenteous store
Of *Hackluit*, *Purchas* and *Ramusio*,
Or learn'd *Acosta's* writings to look o're;
Or what *Herera* hath us told before,
Which merit not the credit due from hence,
Those being but reck'nings of anothers score,
But these the fruits of self-experience:
Wherein our Author useth not the sence
Of those at home, who doe their judgments leave,
And after wandring farr with vast expence,
See many things, which they doe ne'r perceive;
Laborious are by study much at home
To know those Parts, which they came lately from.
Lest doth he use us as the late writ Books
Of journeys made unto the *Levant*-States;
Wherein when we doe pry with curious looks,
Of *Greece* and *Troy* to know the present fates;
They tell us what *Thucydides* relates,
What *Strabo* writes, what *Homer* crown'd with bayes,
What Authors more, who have out-worn their dates,
Besides what *Plutarch* and *Polibius* sayes:
So what they were, not what they are; they sing,
And shew their reading, not their travailing.
But here our Author neither doth us tell,
Or to us shew one inch of Sea or Ground,

Unless

To the READER.

Unless such acts which in his time befell,
Or what his eyes saw the Horizon bound :
He uttereth nought at all he heard by sound,
He speaks not of a City or a Street,
But where himself hath often gone the round,
And measured o're with his industrious feet.
And yet it must acknowledg'd be for true,
Since worthy *Hawkins*, and the famous *Drake*
Did first present unto the English view
This New-found-world, for great *Eliza's* sake;
Renowned *Rawleigh* twice did undertake
With labours great, and dangers not a few,
A true discovery of these Parts to make,
And thereof writ both what he saw and knew.
But as the man who in a Ship doth pass
Our narrow Seas, the flowings of each tide,
The Ships course, soundings, turnings of the glass,
What Land he makes on North or Southern side,
He may impart : But who they be abide,
Or what Religion, Language, or what Nation
Possess each Coast; since he hath never tride,
How can he make thereof a true Relation?
So those who have describ'd these Parts before,
Of Trade, Winds, Currents, Hurican's doe tell,
Of Headlands, Harbours, trendings of the shore,
Of Rocks and Isles : wherein they might as well
Talk of a Nut, and onely shew the shell;
The kernell neither tasted; touch'd nor seen
Had yet remain'd; but that it so befell,
That these Relations to us made have been ;
Differing as much from what before y'have heard,
As doth a Land-Map from a Seamans Card.
But how these truths reveal'd to us should bee,
When none but *Spaniards* to those Parts may go;
Which was establish'd by severe Decree,
Lest Forain people should their secrets know ;
This Order yet to be neglected so,
As that our Author had permission free,
Whose Nation too they count their greatest foe,
Seemeth almost a miracle to me.

Sure

To the READER.

Sure the preſcience of that power Divine,
Which ſafely to thoſe parts did him convey,
Did not for nought his conſtant heart incline
There twelve whole years ſo patiently to ſtay :
That he each thing exactly might ſurvey,
Then him return'd, nay more did turn to us,
And to him ſhew'd of bliſs the perfect way,
Which of the reſt ſeems moſt miraculous.
For had the laſt of theſe not truly been,
Theſe fair Relations we had never ſeen.
Nor can I think but this moſt uſefull Book
In time to come, may like ſome new-born Starr,
Direſt ſuch Wiſemen as therein will look,
And ſhew their way unto theſe Regions farr.
And though we now lie ſunk in Civill war,
Yet you the worthy Patriots of this Land,
Let not your hearts be drowned in deſpair,
And ſo your future happineſs withſtand.
For time will come you ſhall enjoy a Peace,
But then no longer you muſt joy in ſinn ;
When they no more ſhall raign, theſe Wars ſhall ceaſe,
And then your after bliſs ſhall ſoon beginn.
The fiery trialls which you now are in,
In ſtead of foes ſhall prove your beſt of friends,
And you from ſervile baſe affection win,
To fit your hearts for high and Nobler ends :
Your Drums which uſ'd to beat their Martiall dance
Upon the banks of *Garone, Seine and Soane* ;
Whilſt you trode meaſures through the Realm of *France* ;
Doe now at home (Oh grief!) on both ſides groane,
As if they did your ill ſpilt blood bemoane ;
Which long agoe with *Richard, England's King*,
When he the holy Warr maintain'd alone,
Their dreadfull notes did through *Judea* ring.
Now ſhall the tawnie *Indians* quake for fear,
Their direfull march to beat when they doe hear,
Your brave Red-Croſſes on both ſides diſplay'd,
The noble Badges of your famous Nation,
Which you yet redder with your bloods have made,
And dy'd them deep in drops of deteſtation.

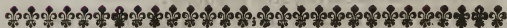
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To the READER.

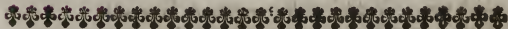
You shall again advance with reputation,
And on the bounds of utmost Western shore
Shall them transplant, and firmly fix their station,
Where English Colours ne'r did fly before.
Your well-built Ships, companions of the Sunn,
As they were Chariots to his fiery beams,
Which oft the Earths circumference have runn,
And now lie moar'd in *Severn, Trent, and Tems,*
Shall plough the Ocean with their gilded Stems,
And in their hollow bottoms you convey
To Lands inrich'd with gold, with pearls and gems,
But above all, where many thousands stay
Of wronged *Indians*, whom you shall set free
From *Spanish* yoke, and *Romes* Idolatry.

All this and more by you shall sure be done,
Yet I no Prophet, nor no Prophets sonne.

THOMAS CHALONER.



A



A

NEW SURVEY OF THE VVEST-INDIES.

CHAP. I.

How Rome doth yearly visit the American and Asian Kingdoms.



HE policy, which for many yeares hath upheld the erring Church of *Rome*, hath clearly and manifestly been discovered by the many Errors which in severall times by sundry Synods or Generall Councells, (which commonly are but Apes of the Popes fancy, will, pleasure, and ambition) have been enacted into that Church. And for such purposes doth that man of Sinne, and Antichristian tyrant, keep constantly in *Rome* so many poor Pensionary Bishops as lieunds at his table, smelling out his ambitious thoughts, with whom he fills the Synods, when he calls them, charging them never to leave off barking and wearying out the rest of the Prelates, untill they have them all as a prey unto his proud and ambitious designs; from which if any of them dare to start, not onely their Pensions shall be surely forfeited, but their souls shall bee cursed, and they as Hereticks Anathematized with a Censure of Excommunication *late sententie*. Hence sprung that Master-piece of Policy, decreeing that the Pope alone should be above the Generall Councell, lest otherwise one Mans pride might be curbed by many heads joyned together; And secondly; that Synodically definition, that the Pope cannot erre, that though the Councels power, wisdom and learning were all fitted into one mans brain, all points of faith straitned into one head and channell; yet the People should not stagger in any lawfull doubts, nor the learned sort follow any more the light of reason, or the sunshine of the Gospel, but all yeelding to blind Obedience, and their most holy Fathers infallibility, in the foggie and Cimmerian mist of ignorance, might secure their souls from erring, or deviating to the *Sylla* or *Charybdis* of Schisme and Heresie. What judicious eye, that will not be blinded with the napkin of ignorance, doth not easily see that Policy only hath been the chief Actor of those damnable Opinions of Purgatory, Transubstantiation, Sacrifice though unbloody (as they term it) of the Mass, Invocation of Saints, their Canonization or installing of Saints into the kingdom of heaven, Indulgences, auricular Confession, with satisfactory Penance, and many such like: All which doubtles have been commanded as points of Faith, not so much to save those wretched souls, as to advance that cracke-brain head in the conceits of his European wonderers, who long agoe were espyed out by the Spirit of *John* wondering after the Beast, worshipping him for his power, and saying, *Who is like unto the Beast, who is able to make warre with him?* Revel. 13. 3, 4. Thus can Policy invent a Purgatory, that a Pope may be sought from all parts of *Europe*, nay now from *East and West India's*, to deliver souls from that imaginary Fire which never God created, but he himself hath fancied, that so much glory may be ascribed to him, and his power wondered at, who can plunge into torments, condemn to burning, and when he list, deliver out of fire. Much more would he be admired, and his

goodnesse extoll'd, if he would deliver at once all those his Purgatory Prisoners without that Simoniacall receipt of money. But policy can afford an infinite price and value of a sacrifice of the Masse, to delude the ignorant people, that though they leave their whole estates to enrich Cloysters, and fat proud Prelates and Abbots; yet this is nothing, and comes farre short (being finite) to that infinite Sacrifice, which onely can and must deliver their scorching, nay broyling souls: And if this infinite Sacrifice be not enough, (which will not be enough, whereas Christs infinit satisfaction was not enough in the opinion in that erroneous Church) Policy will give yet power to a Pope *si divitie affluant*, if money and rich bribes abound, to grant such plenary Indulgences, which may upon one Saints day, or at such a Saints Altar, work that soul out, which lyeth lurking and frying in the deepest pit of Purgatory. O who is like unto the Beast? But will those that wonder at him, bee also wondred at as workers of wonders and miracles? Policy will give power to a Pope to canonize such, and and set them at Gods right hand, fit to be prayed unto, and called upon as Judges of our necessities, and Auditors of our wants: But this honor must be given, after that the whole Colledge of Cardinalls have been clothed with new Purple Robes, and Loads of money brought to the Court of Rome; Witnesse those many thousand pounds, which the City of *Barcelona*, and the whole Countrey of *Catalonia* spent in the Canonizing of *Raimundus de Pennafort*, a Dominican Fryer: Witnesse at least ten Millions, which I have been credibly informed, that the Jesuites spent for the canonization of their two Twins, *Ignatius Loiola*, and *Franciscus Xavier*, whom they call the East India Apostles. And it is not seven years ago yet that it was my chance to travaile from *Frankford* in Germany as far as *Millan* in company of one Fryer *John Baptist a Franciscan*, who told me, That was the fourth time of his going to Rome from *Valencia* in the Kingdome of *Arragon* in Spain about the Canonization of one *John Capistrano* of the same Order; and that besides the great Almshouses which he had begged over many Countreys, (and in that journey went purposely to *Insprug* to the Prince *Leopoldo* for his Almshouses and Letters of commendation to the Pope and Cardinals) he had spent of the City of *Valencia* onely five thousand Duckets, and yet was not his Saint enthroned, as he desired, in heaven; But still money was wanting, and more demanded for the dignifying with a Saints title him, who had lived a Mendicant and begging Fryer. Thus are those blinded Nations brought by Policy to run to Rome with rich treasures, and thus doe they strive who shall have most Saints of their Countrey or Nation, though impoverishing themselves; whilst at Rome ambition and Policy say not, It is enough, fit mates for the Horseleech his two daughters, crying, Give, give, *Prov. 30. 15*. Give, say they, and the rigid Penance justly to be imposed upon thee for thy finnes most hainous, shall be extenuated and made easie for thee. Give, say they, and thou shalt be dispensed with to marry thy nearest Kinswoman or Kinsman. It would be a long story to insert here how the Popes Policy sucks out of England our gold and silver for the authorizing of our Papists private Chambers and Altars for the gaining of Indulgences in them, and delivering of souls out of Purgatory, when Masses are said and heard at them. Thus hath Romes policy blinded and deceived many of the European Kingdomes; and with the same greedinesse gapes at *Asia* and *America*. Who would not admire to see that at this day in *America* onely, the Popes authority and usurped power is extended to as many Countreys as all Europe containes, wherein no Religion but meer blinde Obedience and subjection to the Man of Sin is known? And daily may it more and more encrease, whereas the King of Spain gloryeth to have received from the Pope power over those Kingdomes farr greater than any other Princes of Europe have enjoyed from him. But the pity is, that what power these Princes have, they must acknowledge it from Rome, having given their own power and strength unto the Beast, *Revel. 17. 13*. suffering themselves to be divested of any Ecclesiasticall power over the Clergy, and unable to tender any Oath of Supremacy and Allegiance to their own and naturall subjects, onely so farre as his Holinesse shall give them power. Which Policy since the first Conquest of the West Indies, and ambition to advance the Popes name, hath granted to the Kings of Spain, by a speciall title, naming those Kingdomes, *El Patrimonio Real*, The Royall Patrimony; upon this Condition, that the King of Spain must maintain there the preaching of the Gospel, Fryers, Priests, and Jesuites to preach it with all the erroneous Popish doctrines, which tend to the advancement of the Popes glory, power, and authority. So that what power hee hath divested himself of, and invested the Pope with; what power other Princes are divested of, and the

the King of *Spain* in his Kingdomes of *Europe*, from meddling in Ecclesiasticall affaires; or with Ecclesiasticall men; Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Preists, Jesuites, Monkes and Fryers; that same power by way of Royall Patrimony is conferred upon him in the *India's* only. And this only politickly to maintain there Popery; else never would it have so much increased there; for poor Preists and mendicant Fryers would never have had means enough to be at the charges of sending yearly Flockes and Sholes of Fryers thither, neither to keep and maintain them there; neither would the covetousnesse of the Popes themselves have afforded out of their full and rich treasures, means sufficient for the maintaining of so many thousand Preachers as at this day are preaching there; more *Rome* and Antichrists name, then the name of Christ and the truth of the Gospel. And policy having thus opened way to those *American* parts, the charges thus being laid upon the Crown of *Spain*, and the honour of a Royall Patrimony, with power over the Clergy thus conferred upon the Kings of *Spain*; how doth the Pope yearly charge the Catholike King with troopes of Jesuites and Fryers to be conveyed thither? Now the Jesuites (the best scholars of *Romes* policy) seeing this to bee thus settled between the Pope and the King of *Spain*, for the increasung of their Order, and to suppress the increase of other Religions there, have thought first of a way of challenging all the *India's* to themselves, alleading that *Fran. X. Xavierius* companion of *Ignatius Loiola* was the first Preacher that ever preached in the *East India's*, and so by right that they being of his profession ought only to be sent thither. But this their way being stopped by the opposition of all other Religious orders, especially by the solicitation of one Fryer *Diego Colbiado*, a Dominican, as hereafter I will shew more largely: Now, secondly, their policy is to leane more to the Popes of *Rome*, then any other of those Orders, by a speciall Vow which they make above the three Vowes of other orders, Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience to their superiours; to wit; to be alwaies ready to go to preach when or whither soever the Pope shall send them, and to advance his name, defend his power in what parts soever, managre whatsoever danger, or opposition. Thus though the remotenesse of *America* may discourage other Orders from going thither to preach, and their freewill which is left unto them to make choice of so long and tedious a journey may retard their readinesse, and the dangers of the *Barbarians* unwillingnesse to submit to a Popes power, and admit of a new Religion as superstitious as their own, may affright them from hazarding their lives among a barbarous, rude, and idolatrous people; yet if all others faile, the Pope, and the Jesuites being thus agreed, and the King of *Spain* bound by the new Royall Patrimony, Preachers have not, nor shall ever be wanting in those parts: And in stead of the old Jesuites and Preachers grown in age, yearly are sent thither Missions (as they call them) either of Voluntiers, Fryers mendicant, Preists or Monkes, or else of forced Jesuites: All which entering once into the List and Bond of *Spain* ten years. And whosoever before the ten years expired, shall desire to see *Spain* again, or runagate-like shall return, may be constrained (if taken in *Spain*) to return again to the *India's*, as it happened whilst I lived in those parts, to one Fryer *Petr de Balazar* a Dominican, who privily flying back to *Spain*, was the year after shipped, and restored again to his forced service under the Pope of *Rome*. And thus doth policy open the wayes to those remote and forain parts of *America*. Thus hath policy wrought upon the Kings of *Spain*; and Jesuiticall policy meeting with Antichrists policy and Ambition, doth *Rome* yearly visit her new nursed Children, greeting that Infancie Church of *Asia* and *America* with troopes of messengers one after another, like *Jobs* messengers, bringing under pretence of salvation, damnation and misery to their poor and wretched souls.

CHAP. II.

Shewing that the Indians wealth under a pretence of their Conversion hath corrupted the hearts of poor begging Fryers, with strife, hatred, and ambition.

IT is a most true and certain saying, *Odia Religionum sunt acerbissima*, hatred grounded in points and differences of Religion (let me add, if ambition blow the fire to that hatred) is the most bitter and incapable of reconciliation. Nay, it is an ob-

vation worth noting of some (see Doctor *Day* upon the 1 *Cor.* 16. 9. Verse) that the nearer any are unto a conjunction in matters of Religion, and yet some difference retained, the deeper is the hatred; As hee observes, a Jew hates a Christian farre worse then hee doth a Pagan, or a Turke; a Papist hates a Protestant worse then hee doth a Jew, and a Formalist hates a Puritan worse then hee doth a Papist. No such hatred under heaven (saith hee) as that between a Formalist, and a Puritan, whereof our now Domestick and Civill Warres may bee a sad and woefull experience. A truth which made *Paul* burst out into a lamentable complaint, 1 *Cor.* 16. 9. saying, *A great doore and effectuall is opened unto mee, and there are many adversaries.*

And as when the doore of true Faith once is opened, then Adversaries begin to swarme and rage; so in all points of false and fained Religion where the entrance to it is laid open, hatred and enmity will act their parts. But much more if with such pretended Religion, Wealth and Ambition as counterfeit Mates thrust hard to enter at the opened doore, what strife, hatred, and envy doe they kindle even in the hearts of such who have vowed poverty and the contempt of worldly wealth? I may adde to what hath beene observed above, that no hatred is comparable to that which is betwene a Jesuite and a Fryer, or any other of *Romes* Religious Orders; And above all yet betwene a Jesuite, and a Dominican. The ambition and pride of Jesuites is inconsistent in a Kingdome or Common-wealth with any such as may bee equall to them in Preaching, Counsell or Learning. Therefore strive they so much for the education of Gentlemens Children in their Colledges, that by teaching the sonnes, the love of the fathers and mothers may bee more easily gained: and their love and good will thus gained, they may withall gaine to themselves whatsoever praise, honour, glory may bee fit to be bestowed upon any other Ecclesiasticall Person. Which Policy and Ambition in them being so patent and knowne to all the World, hath stirred up in all other Religions a hatred to them uncapable ever of Reconciliation. This hath made them all to conspire against them, and to discover their unsatisfied covetousnesse in beguiling the rich widowes of what meanes hath beene left them by their deceased husbands, to erect and build those stately Colledges beyond the Seas, the sight whereof both outward and inward doth draw the ignorant people to resort more to their Churches and preaching then to any other. Thus whilest in *Venice*, they got the favour of one of the chief Senatours of that Common-wealth, they politically drew him to make his will according to their will and pleasure, leaving to his son and heire no more then what they should think fit to afford him. But they appropriating to themselves the chiefeest part of the young heires meanes, and with so proud a legacy thinking to overpower all other Orders, were by them opposed so, that the Will was called for by the whole State and Senatours of *Venice*, fully examined, and they commanded to restore to the heire the whole Estate as enjoyed by his Father. Well did that wise Senate conceive, that as one Noble man had been cheated by them of his fortunes, so might they one by one, and so at length the riches of *Venice* might become a treasure onely for Jesuites to maintaine the pride and pompe of their glorious fabricks. And though those vowed servants to the Pope obtained his Excommunication against the whole Estate of *Venice* upon non-complying with the foresaid Will and Testament; yet such was the preaching of all other Preists and Orders against them, that they caused the State to slight the Excommunication, and in lieu of making them heires of the deceased Senatours Estate, they shamefully banished them out of *Venice*. Thus also have the Preists and Fryers of *Bisaya* in *Spain* prevailed against the admitting of Jesuits into *San-Sebastian*, though by the favour of some they have in severall occasions obtained an house and erected a Bell to ring and summon in the People to their pretended Church and Colledge. Nay the very house wherein their Patron *Ignatius Loiola* lived, have they often seriously offered to buy for a Colledge; yet such hath been the opposition of the Preists and Fryers of that Countrey, that they have dashed to nought their often iterated endeavours to purchase that which they esteem their chiefeest Relique. But to come nearer to our owne Countrey, what a combustion did this strife betwene Jesuites and other Preists of *England* cause among our Papists ten yeares agoe, when the Pope sending into *England* Doctor *Smith* pretended Bishop of *Chalcedon* to bee the Metropolitan head over all the Clergy and other Orders, how then was it to see the pride of the Jesuites as inconsistent with any one that might oversway them, or gain more credit then themselves? who never left persecuting the Bishop, till by the

Popes

Popes Letters they had banished him out of *England*. Which curtosie, the secular Preists gaining yet a head over them with title of Archdeacon, Doctor *Champney*, have ever since sought to repay home, by endeavouring alwayes to cast them out of *England*, as pernicious to the State of this Kingdome, more then Fryers or any other sort of Preists; Which they have sufficiently made known by discovering their covetousnesse in encroaching upon many Houses and Farmes, enriching themselves, as namely at *Winifreds Well* (so tearmed by them) where they had bought an Inne, and speedily fell to building there that they might make it a Colledge for Jesuites to entertaine there all Papists comers and goers to that Well, and so might win to themselves the hearts of most of the Papists of the Land, who doe yearly resort thither to bee washed and healed upon any light occasion either of Head-ach, Stomack-ach, Ague, want of children, where they blindly phantasie a speedy remedy for all maladies, or wants of this World. Thus have the Preists discovered further our English Jesuites covetousnesse in the building of the Sope-houses at *Lambeth* under the name of Mr. *George Gage* their purse-bearer, and since projecting the Monopolly of Sope under Sir *Richard Weston*, Sir *Basil Brooke*, and many others names, who were but Agents and Traders with the Jesuites rich and mighty Stocke. Thus came out the discovery of the Levelling of Hills and Mountaines, cutting of rocks at *Leige* in the Low Countreyes at the Colledge of the English Jesuites, a worke for Gardens and Orchards for their Novices recreation and pastime, which (as I have heard from their owne mouthes) cost them thirty thousand pound, which gift they squeezed out of one onely Countesse of this Land. Like to this may prove their Colledge at *Gaunt*, for which they have obtained already a faire beginning of eight thousand pounds from the Old Countesse of *Shrewsberry*, and from the greatest part of the Estate of Mr. *Sackesfield*, whom whilst they had him in their Colledges, they cherished with their best dainties, and with hopes that one day hee should bee a Canonized Saint of their Religious Order. All these knaveries doe even those Preists of the same Popish Religion discover of them, and thereby endeavor to make them odious. And though of all, the Jesuites be the most covetous, yet may I not excuse the Secular Preists, Benedictine Monks, and the Fryers from this damnable sinne; who also strive for wealth and meanes for their *Dowry*, *Paris* and *Lubbe* Colledges, and lose no opportunities at the death of their Popish favourites for the obtaining a Legacy of one or two hundred Pounds, assuring them their soules shall bee the better for their Masses. Thus doe those miserable wretches in the very heat of their zeale of soules seek to suppress one another, and having vowed Poverty, yet make the Conversion of *England* the onely object of their Ambition and unsatiable Covetousnesse. But above all is this envy and hatred found between Dominicans and Jesuites, for these owe unto them an old grudge, for that when *Ignatius Loiola* lived, his Doctrine of *Trinitate* (which hee pretended was revealed to him from heaven, for hee was certainly past the Age of studying at his Conversion) was questioned by the Dominicans, and hee by a Church Censure publickly and shamefully whipped about their Cloisters for his erronous principles. This affront done to their chief Patron hath stirred up in them an unreconcilable hatred towards the Order of the Dominicans, and hath made them even cracke their braines to oppose *Thomas Aquinas* his Doctrine. How shamefully doe those two Orders indeavour the destruction of each other, branding one another with calumnies of heresie in the Opinions especially of *Conceptione Marie*, de libero arbitrio, de *Auxiliis*? And of the two, the Jesuites is more bold and obstinate in malice and hatred. How did they some twenty yeares agoe, all *Spain* over, about the Conception of *Mary* stirre up the people against the Dominicans, in so much that they were in the very streets tearmed Hereticks, stones cast at them, the King almost perswaded to banish them out of all his Dominions, and they poore Fryers forced to stand upon their Guard in their Cloisters in many Cities, especially in *Sevill*, *Oluna*, *Antiquera* and *Cordova*, to defend themselves from the rude and furious multitude. Much like this was that publicke Conference and disputation betweene *Valencia* the Jesuite and Master *Lemos* the Dominican, before the Pope, concerning their alteration of *Auxiliis*; When the cunning Jesuite hoping to brand with heresie the whole Order of Dominicans, had caused *Augustines* Workes to bee falsly printed at *Lions*, with such words which might directly oppose the *Thomists* Opinion; and had prevailed, had not *Lemos* begged of the Pope that the Originall Bookes of *Austin* might bee brought out of his Vatican Library, where was found the quite contrary words, to what the false Jesuite

had caused to be printed; hee was forced to confesse his knavery, was harshly reprehended, and with the apprehension of that great affront, the next night gave up his ghost to his father, the father of lies and falshood.

An other reason of this mortall enmity between these two Orders, is for that the Jesuites surpasse all others in ambition of honour, credit, and estimation, whence it is they cannot iadure to behold the Dominicans to exceed them in any preferment. Now it is that by the Laws of *Aragon* and the Kingdome of *Valencia*, the Kings of *Spain* are tied to have a Dominican Fryer for their Confessor or gholly father, which could but the Jesuites obtain, how would they then rule and govern *Spain* and the Kings heart? But though they could never yet prevail to alter this established law, yet have they prevailed now lately so that *Antonio de Sotomayor* the King of *Spain*s Confessor should lie at rest in the Court of *Madrid*, with a pension and dry title only; and that *Florencia* that grand Statist should be Confessor to the Count of *Olivares*, the Royall Issue, the Queen, and should hear the Kings confessions oftner then his chosen and elected Confessor *Sotomayor*. Secondly, the Dominicans as first Authors of the Inquisition (which they prove from their Martyr *Peter of Verona*) still enjoy the highest places of that Court, which is a wofull sight to the Jesuites to see their Religion affaires handled, their Church kept pure from what they call heresy by any but themselves. O had they (as they have often strived for it) in their hands the judicature of that tribunal, how should all Dominicans, nay all sorts of Preists but their own, presently by them be branded with heresy? Thirdly, in *Rome* there is an other preferment successively due to Dominicans, from the time of *Dominicus de Guzman* founder of that Religion, to wit, to be *magister Sacri Palatii*, the Popes Palace master, instituted to this purpose that about him there may be some learned Divine (for commonly the Popes are more Statists, and Canonists, then Divines) to read a daily lecture of Divinity to such as will be instructed therein, and to resolve the Pope himselfe of what soever difficult points in Divinity may be questioned. This is the Dominicans due with a pension to maintain Coach and servants within the Palace of *Sr. Peter*. Which the Jesuites have often by favour and cunning Jesuiticall trickes endeavoured to bereave the Dominicans of; but proving labour in vain, they continue still in their unplaceable enmity and hatred against them. And thus you see the fountaines of their strife; which as here in *Europe* hath been well seen, so hath this contentious fire overpowered the fire of their zeal of soules in the *East* and *West-Indies*; and the wealth and riches of those Countries, the ambition of honor in their Gospel function hath more powerfully drawn them thither, then (what they pretend) the conversion of a barbarous and idolatrous nation. This was well published to the view of the whole world by a most infamous libel which in the year 1626. fryer *Diego de Colliado* a missionary Fryer in *Philippinas* and *Japan* set out of the unheard of passages and proceedings of the Jesuites in those *Eastern* parts. At that time the Jesuites pretended that mission to themselves only, and petitioned the King of *Spain*, that only they might go thither to preach, having been the first plantation of *Franciscus Xavier*, and since continued successively by their Preists. To this purpose they remembered the King of the great charges he was at in sending so many Fryers and maintaining them there; all which should be saved, might they only have free ingresse into those Kingdomes. All which charges they offered themselves to beare, and further to bring up the *Indians* in the true faith, to instruct them and civilize them, to teach them all liberall sciences, and to perfect them in musick and all muscicall instruments, and in fencing, dancing, vaulting, painting and whatsoever els might make them a compleat, and civill people. But against all this was objected by *Diego Colliado*, that not zeal only and charity moved them to this offer, but their ambition and covetousnesse, which would soon be seen in their encroaching upon the silly and simple *Indians* wealth; bringing instances of many thousand pounds which they had squeezed from the poore *Barbarians* in the Islands of *Philippinas*; And that their entering into *Japan* was more to enrich themselves, then to convert the *Japonians* to Christianisme; that whensoever they entred into the Kingdome they conveyed from *Manila* whole ships laden with the richest commodities of those Islands; that their trading was beyond all other Merchants tradings, their Bench for exchange mony farre more accustomed then any other whither for *China*, for *Japan*, for *Peru* and *Mexico*; and that the Viceroy himselfe made use of none other, but theirs. That to keep out all other orders out of *Japan*, they had ingratiated themselves so farre, under pretence

of trading, into the Emperours favour by gifts of Watches, Clocks, Dials, Lockes, and Cabinets, and such like presents of most curious and artificiall Workmanship, that they had got free access to his Court, and counsell'd him to beware of Fryers, which cunningly crept into his Kingdome to preach a new law, perswading him by rigorous search and enquiries to root them out: thus politickly for their own ends hindering the increase of Christianisme by any means or instruments save themselves; and blinding the Emperours eyes with their cunning insinuations, that he might not see in them, what they desired he might discover in others, that they might appear in sheep skins, and others clothed with wolves skins; and so the Fryers might have little heart to trade, but enough to doe to save themselves from the stormy persecution, whilst they freely might enjoy the liberty of rich trading. This brand upon these cunning foxes was commanded to be printed, thanks given to *Diego Colliado* for discovering to the State their crafty proceedings, with not a few tenents maintained by them in *Japan* even against their owne Sovereigne; a fat Bishoprick was offered to the Fryer, which he refusing, commission was given unto him for the railing of forty Fryers out of *Spain*, and the conducting of them to the Islands of *Philippines*, and that it should be free for all Preists and Fryers, as well as Jesuites, to passe to those parts for the preaching of Christ and the extending of Christianisme among the Heathens and Barbarians. O that this my discovery made to *England* of those dissembling and false Preists, would make us wise to know and discover under the ashes of their pretended Religion, the fire of strife and contention which they kindle in Kingdomes, and to rake up that covetousnesse, which we may easily find in them; tending to the ruine of many fair estates, and to the temporall and spirituall danger of this our flourishing Kingdome!

CHAP. III.

Shewing the manner of the Missions of Fryers and Jesuites to the India's.

All the Kingdomes of *America*, that have been conquered by the Kings of *Spain*, are divided as into severall temporall governments, so into severall spirituall jurisdictions, under the name of Provinces, belonging unto severall religious Orders, and their Provincials. These though so farre distant from *Europe*, yet live with a dependency and subordination unto the Court of *Rome*, and are bound to send thither a strict account and relation of what most remarkable passages and successes happen there, as also what want of Preachers there is in every severall Province. Which is to be performed in this manner. Every religious Order (except the Jesuites and Dominicans, whose Generall continueth till death, unlesse a Cardinals cap be bestowed upon him) maketh election of one of the same order to be the head Ruler, or (as they call him) Generall over all those of the same profession every sixth year. The subjects unto this Generall which are dispersed in *Italy*, *Germany*, *Flanders*, *France*, *Spain*, *East* and *West-India's* are divided into sundry Provinces, as in *Spain* there is one Province of *Andaluzia*, another of *Castilia nuova*, new *Castile*, another of *Castilia vieja*, old *Castile*, another of *Valencia*, another of *Aragon*, of *Murcia*, of *Catalonia*; So likewise in *America* there is the Province of *Mexico*, of *Mechoacan*, of *Guaxaca*, of *Chiapa* and *Guatemala*, of *Comayagua*, *Nicaragua* and the like. Every Province of these hath a head named the Provinciall, chosen by the chief of the Province every three years; which election is called a Provinciall Chapter, and the former a Generall Chapter, which also is allotted to be in some chief City, commonly in *Italy*, *France*, or *Spain*. When the Provinciall Chapter is kept, then by the consent of all that meet in it is there one named by name of Procurator or Diffinitor, who is to goe in the name of the whole Province to the next election of the Generall, and there to demand such things as his Province shall think fit, and to give an account of the state of the Province from whence he is sent. Thus from the *West-India's* are sent Procurators, who commonly are the best prizes the *Holland* ships meet with, for that they carry with them great wealth, and gifts to the Generalls, to the Popes and Cardinals and Nobles in *Spain*, as bribes to facilitate whatsoever just or unjust, right or wrong they are to demand. Among other busineses their charge is this, to make known the great want of labo-

ers in the abundant and plentiful harvest of the *Indians* (though not all Provinces demand Preachers from *Spain*, as I will shew hereafter) and to desire a number of thirty or forty young Prelits, who may be fit for any *Indian* language and to succeed the old standers.

The Order of the Province being read to the Generall, or his Generall Chapter, then are Letters Patents granted unto this Procurator from the Generall, naming him his Vicar Generall for such a Province, and declaring his sufficiency and worthy parts, (though none at all in him, as I have beene witnesse of some) the great paines hee hath taken in the new planted *Indian* Church, and how fit hee hath beene judged to convey to those parts, a Mission of such as shall voluntarily offer themselves for the propagation of Christianity amongst those Barbarians. Then the tanny *Indian* Fryer being well set out with high Commendations, and fairly painted with flattering Elogies, presents these his Patents (and with them peradventure a little wedge of Gold, a Box of Pearles, some Rubies or Diamonds, a Chest of Cochinill, or Sugar, with some boxes of curious Chocolate, or some feather works of *Mexicans*, some small fruits of his great paines and labour) to the Pope; who for his first reward gives him his Toe and Pantofle to kisse, seconding this honour with a joyfull countenance to behold an Apostle, judging him worthy of the best of the *Indian* wealth, and his soule peradventure fit for the title of a Saint; This complacency in the gift and the giver, breeds immediately a *motus proprius* in his Holinesse to grant a Bull with a degree of the Popes Commissary, wherein this poore Medicant Fryer is enabled to runne over all the Cloisters of his Profession in *Spain*, to gather up his thirty or forty yong Preachers. Who for their better encouragement are at their first listing by the Popes Authority absolved *à culpis & à pena*, from all sinne, and from their Purgatory and Hell due unto it, by a plenary Indulgence. And whosoever shall oppose, or any way discourage this Popes Commissary, or those that are or would be listed by him, are *ipso facto* excommunicated with an Anathem reserved only to this Commissary or his Holines himself. O what is it to see, when such a Commissaries coming is knowen, how the young birds, that as in Cages are shut up within the walls of a Cloister, leap and cherish themselves with hopes of liberty? What is it to see disordered Fryers, who for their misdemeanours, and leaping over their Cloister wals in the night to find out their wanton harlots, have beene imprisoned, now rejoyce at the coming of a Popes Commissary, and Plenary Indulgence, freeing them from sinnes past, and fitting them for the Conversion of soules, though there one be not averted from their Harlot, nor as yet truly and unsainely converted to the love of God? True it is, I have kowne some that have written their names in the list of *Indian* Missionaries, men of sober life and Conversation, moved onely with a blind zeale of encreasing the Popish Religion: yet I dare say and confidently print this truth without wronging the Church of Rome, that of thirty or forty which in such occasions are commonly transported to the *Indias*, the three parts of them are Fryers of leud lives, weary of their retired Cloister lives, who have beene punished often by their Superiours for their wilfull back-sliding from that obedience which they formerly vowed; or for the breach of their poverty in closely retaining money by them to Card and Dice, of which sort I could here namely insert a long and tedious Catalogue; or lastly such, who have beene imprisoned for violating their vow of chastity with leud and lascivious women, either by secret flight from their Cloisters, or by publike Apostatizing from their Order, and cloathing themselves in Lay-mens Apparell, to run about the safer with their wicked Concubines. Of which sort it was my chance to bee acquainted with one Fryer *John Navarro* a Franciscan in the City of *Guatemala*, who after hee had in secular apparell enjoyed the leud company of one *Amaryllis* a famous Woman player in *Spain* for the space of a year, fearing at last hee might bee discovered, listed himselfe in a Mission to *Guatemala*, the year 1632, there hoping to enjoy with more liberty and lesse feare of punishment any lustfull or carnall object. Liberty, in a word, under the Cloak of Piety and Conversion of Soules, it is, that draws so many Fryers (and commonly the younger sort) to those remote *American* parts; where after they have learned some *Indian* language, they are licenced with a Parish Charge to live alone out of the sight of a watching Prior or Superiour, out of the bounds and compasse of Cloister walls, and authorized to keep house by themselves, and to finger as many Spanish Patacones, as their wits device shall teach them to squeeze out of the newly Converted *Indians* wealth. This liberty

liberty they could never enjoy in *Spain*, and this liberty is the Midwife of so many foule falls of wicked Fryers in those parts. For the present onely, I shall return again to my Fryer *Iohn Navarro*, who at his coming to *Guatemala*, being made for his wit and learning, Matter and Reader of Divinity, and much esteemed of for his acute Preaching, among many others got the estimation and love of a chief Gentlewoman, (*Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem, testis diu*) who continued in *Navarro* his heart the former sent of the unchast love of *Amyllin*, so far that the Fryer being blinded and wounded with *Cupid's* Arrow sticking in his heart, ran headlong to quench his lustfull thirst upon *St. James* his day, 1635. for better memory of the Tragical event (being the Spaniards common Advocate, and speciall Patron of that City, named *St. Jago de Guatemala*) where cruel *Mars* oppressing *Venus* in her wanton Acts, the injured husband acting *Mars*, & finding *Navarro* *Cupid's* page saluting his *Venus* upon her bed, drew his sword, cutting the Fryer first in the head and face, who struggling with death, and purchasing his life with a swift and nimble flight to a Garden, where his own brother a Fryer of the same Order, & Pander to that foul act, entertained the Motherlesse children, for the husband having missed his fatal blow (willingly as some imagined, or unwillingly as others judged) in the Fryers heart, wilfully laid it in the throat of his unchast Wife, scarce leaving way for breath to make a speedy Confession of her sinne to *Navarro* his Brother; who tending her soule as much as his Brother had tended her body absolved her from her sinne, finding signes, though no uttering speech of Repentance, while the murderer fled, and the murdered lay in the doore of her house for a sad object to all, that immediately flocked thither to see that bloody Tragedy. The Wife being the same day buried, the Husband being retired to a close Sanctuary, *Navarro* was carried to his Convent to be cured; and after his Cure was banished that Country; whom two yeares after it was my chance to meet in *Cartagena* returning to *Spain* with his scard face, bearing the marke of his lascivious life, and of that liberty which hee had enjoyed in *America*. Such are the fruits of the zeale of those wretches, who upbraid our Church and Ministers for want of zeale to labour in the Conversion of Infidels. Who when they arrive to those parts, are entertained with ringing of Bells, with sounding of Trumpets most part of the way as they travaile, and as Apostles are received by the *Indians*, though soon like *Judas* they fall from their calling, and for pleasure and covetousnesse sell away Christ from their Soules. *England* may here learn to beware of such Converters, who are daily by name of Missionaries sent hither by the Pope to preach amongus Popery; but like *Navarro* come to feed and cherish their wanton lusts, as I could give many instances, might I not be censured for long digressions in mingling English Histories with my *American* Travailes.

CHAP. IV.

Shewing to what Provinces of the East and West India's belonging to the Crown of Castilia are sent Missions of Fryers and Iesuites. And specially of the Mission sent in the yeare 1625.

IN all the Dominions of the King of *Spain* in *America*, there are two sorts of Spaniards more opposite one to another then in *Europe* the Spaniard is opposite to the French, or to the Hollander, or to the Portugall; To wit, they that are born in any parts of *Spain* and goe thither, and they that are borne there of Spanish parents, whom the Spaniards, to distinguish them from themselves, terme *Criolios*, signifying the Natives of that Country. This hatred is so great, that I dare say, nothing might bee more advantageous then this, to any other Nation that would conquer *America*. And nothing more easily gained, then the Wils and affections of the Natives of the Country, to joyne with any other Nation to free and rescue themselves from that subjection, or kind of slavery, which they suffer under the hard usage of the Spaniards, and their partiall Government and justice toward them, and those that come from *Spain*. This is so grievous to the poore *Criolios* or Natives, that my selfe have often heard them say, They would rather bee subject to any other Prince, nay to the Hollanders, then to

to the *Spaniards*, if they thought they might enjoy their Religion; and others willing the *Hollanders*, when they tooke *Truxillio* in *Honduras*, had stayed in it and entered further into the land, they should have been welcome to them; and that the Religion they enjoyed with so much slavery, was nothing sweet unto them. This mortall hatred betwixt these two sorts of *Spaniards*, made the *Criolios* so ready to joyn against the Marquesse of *Guelmes* Viceroy of *Mexico*, in the tumult and mutiny of that City, wherein they cleaving to *Don Alonso de Zerna*, the Arch-Bishop caused the Viceroy to escape for his life by flight, and would then have utterly rooted out the Spanish Government, had not some Preists dissuaded them from it; but of this I shall speak more largely hereafter. The cause of this deadly hatred hath proceeded from a jealousy which the *Spaniards* have ever had of the *Criolios*, that they would faine withdraw themselves first from the commerce with *Spain*, and secondly, from the Government which is laid upon them; which is such, that the *Criolios* must be alwaies under, and a subject, alwaies governed, but scarce any a Governour. Never yet was there seen any *Criolio* made Viceroy of *Mexico*, or *Peru*; or President of *Guatemala*, or *Santafe*, or *S. Domingo*; or Governour of *Yucatan*, *Cartagena*, *Havana*; or *Alcalde Mayor* (as they call them) of *Soconusco*, *Chiapa*, *San Salvador*, and such like places of credit. So likewise in the Courts of Chancery, as *San Domingo*, *Mexico*, *Guatemala*, *Lima*, and the rest; where commonly there are Six, called *Oydores* and one *Fiscal*, scarce one of them to be found a *Criolio*, or native of the Countrey; though there be among them those that descended of the chief Conquerors; as in *Lima* and *Peru* the *Pizarros*, in *Mexico* and *Guaxaca* the house of the Marquesse *Dell Valle*, *Ferdinando Cortes* his Successors, others of the house of *Giron*, others of the house of *Alvarado*, others of the *Gusmanes*, finally many of the chiefest houses of *Spain*, yet none of these ever preferred to any dignity. And not onely thus are they kept from offices, but daily affronted by the *Spaniards* as incapable of any Government, and termed halfe *Indians* by them.

Which generall contempt hath also spread it selfe in the Church, where no *Criolio* Preist is scarce ever preferred to be a Bishop, or Canon in a Cathedrall Church, but all such as come from *Spain*. So likewise in the religious orders they have many years endeavored to keep under and suppress such as have bin admitted to their orders of the natives of the Countrey, lest the number of them should prevail against those that are brought from *Spain*; they have been very nice in choosing of them, & though they have been forced to admit of some, yet still the Provincials, the Priors, and all Superiors have been *Spaniards* born in *Spain*. Till now lately some Provinces have got the upper hand and prevailed against the *Spaniards*, & have so filled their cloisters with *Criolios* or natives, that they have utterly refused to admit the supplies of Spanish Missions which formerly were sent unto them, and till this day are sent to others. In the Province of *Mexico* there are Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustines, Carmelites, Mercenarians, and Jesuites, whereof the Jesuites and Carmelites only to this day prevail against *Criolios*, bringing every two or three years Missions from *Spain*. The last Mission that was sent to the Mercenarians was the year 1625. and then was the opposition such between that Mission and the *Criolios*, that in the election of the next Provinciall in their Cloister of *Mexico*, the Fryers drew knives one against another, and were like to kill each other, had not the Viceroy gone to their Cloister to make peace, and imprison some of them. Yet at last by the multitude of voices the native partly prevailed, and till this day have exempted themselves from Spanish Missions, alledging (as others have done) that they have Fryers enough in their Cloisters, and need none to be sent them from *Spain*; submitting themselves to the Pope, and presenting to him as stately gifts as ever *Spaniards* did before them. In the Province of *Guaxaca* none admit of Missionaries from *Spain*; true it is the Dominicans are but newly subdued by the *Criolian* party; and as yet are strongly pleading at *Rome* for Spanish Fryers, alledging that the glory and lustre of their Religion hath been much blurred since the non-admittance of supplies of their zealous Compatriots. The Province of *Guatemala*, (which is of a large extent) containing *Guatemala*, *Chiapa*, the *Zoque*, part of *Tabasco*, the *Zeldales*, the *Sacapultar*, the *Pera Paz*, all the coast lying to the South sea *Suchitepeques* and *Soconusco*, *Comayagua*, *Honduras*, *S. Salvador*, *Nicaragua*, hath in it these orders chiefly, Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustines, (who are subject to *Mexico* being one poore Cloister in *Guatemala*) Jesuites also in *Guatemala* subject to the goverment of *Mexico* and Mercenarians; whereof

whereof the three orders of Dominicans, Franciscans, and Mercenarians, are the only Preachers and parish Priests throughout all the forenamed Provinces. And these three Orders have still kept under the Criolian party, never as yet suffering any of them to be Provinciall, bringing every two or three years some one year and some another, Missions of Fryers from *Spain* to maintain and keep up their faction against the Criolians. The Provinces of *Peru* being more distant from *Spain*, and hard to come to by sea, have no Missions sent unto them. There are of the most Romish religious orders, yet the chiefe are Dominicans; and they all live above their vow of poverty, abounding in wealth, riot, liberty and pleasures. In the Kingdome of *Nuevoroyno de Granada*, and *Cartagena*, *Santa fee*, *Barinas*, *Popayan*, and the government of *St. Martha*, are Dominicans, Jesuites, Franciscans, Carmelites, Augustines and Mercenarians; whereof the Dominicans, Jesuites and Franciscans till this day admit of Missions from *Spain*. The Island of *Cuba*, *Jamaica*, *la Margarita*, *Puerto rico*, all are subject to the head Provinciall of *Santo Domingo*, being Dominicans, Jesuites, and Franciscans, and have all now and then Missions from *Spain*. *Yucatan* hath in it only Franciscans, who live most richly and plentifully, and strongly uphold the Spanisb faction with *European* Missions: *Mexico* can belongeth to the *Mexican* Fryers, and is in the same condition as was said before of *Mexico*. Thus have I briefly run over all *America* that pertains to the Crown of *Castilia*: for the *East-Indies* they belong to the Crown of *Portingall* and *Brasil*, as first discovered and possessed by the *Portingalls*, and now doubtlesse are subject to King *Iohn*, the new King of *Portingall*. Yet the Islands of *Philippinas* are subject to the King of *Spain*, and there are Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustines, and Jesuites, all which lie still in wait in *Manila* the Metropolitan City, for some sure shipping to *Iapan*, to convert that Kingdome. And though they admit of some few Criolios among them, especially some of their Converts of *China* and *Iapan*; yet their chief number and strength is of Spanisb Missionaries, who are more frequently conveyed thither then to the parts afore-mentioned of *America*. First they are sent in the ships that are bound for *Nueva España* and *Mexico*; and after they have reised two or three moneths in *Mexico*, they are sent to *Acapulco*, lying on the *Mar del Zur*, there they are shipped in two great Caracks which yearly go and come richly laden with *China*, *Iapan*, and all *East-India* ware from *Manila* to *Acapulco* to enrich *Mexico* with farre greater riches then any are sent by the North sea from *Spain*. The voyage from *Acapulco* thither, is longer then from *Spain* to *Mexico*; and easy and pleasant, though the return is farre longer and most dangerous. The year of our Lord 1625. there were four Missions sent; the one of Franciscans to *Yucatan*, the other of Mercenarians to *Mexico*, the other two of Dominicans and Jesuites to *Philippinas*. At which time it was my fortune to reside among the Dominicans in *Xerez* in *Andaluzia*. The Popes Commissary for that Mission was Fryer *Maibeo de la Villa*, who having a Commission for thirty and having gathered some 24 of them about *Castilia* and *Madrid*, sent them by degrees well stored with mony to *Caliz*, to take up a convenient lodging for himselfe and the rest of his crew, till the time of the setting forth of the *Indian* Fleet. This Commissary named one Fryer *Antonio Calvo* to be his substitute, and to visit the Cloisters of *Andaluzia* lying in his way; namely *Cordova*, *Sevill*, *St. Lucar*, and *Xerez*, to try if out of them he could make up his compleat number of thirty, which was after fully compleated. About the end of *May* came this worthy *Calvo* to *Xerez*, and in his Company one *Antonio Melendez* of the Colledge of *St. Gregory* in *Valladolid*, with whom I had formerly neer acquaintance. This *Melendez* greatly rejoiced when he had found mee; and being well stocked with *Indian* Patacones, the first night of his coming invited me to his chamber to a stately supper. The good *Xerez* Sack which was not spared, set my friend in such a heat of zeale of converting *Lapmians*, that all his talke was of those parts never yet seen, and at least six thousand leagues distant. *Bacchus* metamorphosed him from a Divine into a Orator, and made him a *Cicero* in parts of Rhetoricall eloquence. Nothing was omitted that might exhort mee to joyne with him in that function, which he thought was Apostolicall. *Nemo Propheta in patria sua*, was a great argument with him; sometimes he propounded Martyrdome for the Gospel sake, and the glory after it, to have his life and death printed, and of poore Fryer *Antony* a Clothiers son of *Sequivia* to bee stiled *St. Anthony* by the Pope, and made collateral with the Apostles in heaven; thus did *Bacchus* make him ambitious of honor upon the earth, and preferement in heaven. But when he thought this Rhetoricke had not prevailed, then would he act a

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Midas and *Craſus*, fancying the *India's* paved with tiles of gold and ſilver, the ſtones to be Pearls, Rubies, and Diamonds, the trees to bee hung with cluſters of nutmegs bigger then the cluſters of grapes of *Canan*, the fields to be planted with Sugar Canes, which ſhould ſo ſweeten the *Chocolatte*, that it ſhould farre exceed the milke and hony of the land of promiſe; the ſilkes of *China* hee conceited to be common; that the ſailes of the ſhips were nothing elſe; finally he dreamed of *Midas* happineſſe, that whatſoever he touched ſhould be turned to gold. Thus did *Xerez Neſtar* make my friend and mortified Fryer, a covetous worldling. And yet from a rich covetous Merchant did it ſhape him to a Courtier in pleaſures; fancying the *Philippina* to be the *Eden*, where was all joy without teares, mirth without ſadneſſe, laughing without ſorrow, comfort without griefe, plenty without want, no not of *Eves* for *Adams*, excepted only that in it ſhould be no forbidden fruit, but all lawfull for the taſte and ſweetning of the palate; and as *Adam* would have been as God, ſo conceited *Adelendez* himſelfe a God in that *Eden*; whom travelling, *Indian* Waites and trumpets ſhould accompany; and to whom, entering into any Town, noſegaies ſhould be preſented, flowers and boughes ſhould be ſtrowed in his way, Arches ſhould be erected to ride under, Bells for joy ſhould be rung, and *Indian* knees for duty & homage, as to a God, ſhould be bowed to the very ground. From this inducing argument, and representation of a Paradiſe, he fell into a ſtrong Rhetorical point of curioſity, finding out a tree of knowledge, and a Philoſophicall maxime, *Omne homo naturaliter ſcire deſiderat*, man naturally inclines to know more and more; which knowledge he fancied could be no where more furniſhed with rare curioſities then in thoſe parts; for there ſhould the Gold and Silver, which here are fingered, in their growth in the bowels of the earth be known; there ſhould the pepper be known in its ſeaſon, the nutmeg and Clove, the Cinnamon as a rine or bark on a tree, the faſhioning of the Sugar from a green growing Cane into a loaf; the ſtrange ſhaping the *Cocbinil* from a worme to ſo rich a Scarlet die; the changing of the *Tinta* which is but graſſe with ſtalke and leaves into an *Indigo* black dye, ſhould be taught and learned; and without much labour thus ſhould our ignorance be inſtructed with various and ſundry curioſities of knowledge and underſtanding. Finally, though *Xerez liquor* (grapes bewitching tears) had put this bewitching eloquence into my *Anſonius* brain) yet he doubted not to preferre before it his wine of *Philippina*, growing on tall and high trees of *Coco*, wherein he longed to drinke a Spaniſh Brindis in my company to all his friends remaining behind in *Spain*. Who would not be moved by theſe arguments to follow him, and his *Calvo*, or ball pated Superiour? Thus ſupper being ended my *Melendez* deſired to know how my heart ſtood affected to his journey; and breaking out into a *Voto a Dios* with his converting zeal, he ſwore he ſhould have no quiet nights reſt untill he were fully ſatiſfied of my reſolution to accompany him. And having learned the Poets expreſſion, *Quid non mortalia peſtora cogis*, *Auri ſacra fames* ? he offered unto me halfe a dozen of Spaniſh piſtols, aſſuring me that I ſhould want nothing, and that the next morning *Calvo* ſhould furniſh me with whatſoever monies I needed, for to buy things neceſſary for the comfort of ſo long and tedious a journey. To whom I answered, ſuddain reſolutions might bring future grief and ſorrow, and that I ſhould that night lye down and take counſell with my pillow, aſſuring him that for his ſake I would doe much, and that if I reſolved to goe, my reſolution ſhould draw on an other friend of mine, an Iriſh Fryer, named *Thomas Delecn*. Thus tooke I my leave of my *Melendez*, and retired my ſelf to my chamber and bed, which that night was no place of repoſe and reſt to me as formerly it had been. I muſt needs ſay *Melendez* his arguments, though moſt of them moved me not; yet the opportunity offered me to hide my ſelf from all ſight and knowledge of my deareſt friends, ſtirred up in me a ſerious thought of an angry and harſh letter, which not long before I had received out of *England* from mine own father, ſignifying unto me the diſpleaſure of moſt of my friends and kindred, and his own grievous indignation againſt me, for that having ſpent ſo much money in training me up to learning, I had not only utterly reſuſed to be of the Jeſuites Order (which was his only hopes) but had proved in my affections a deadly foe and enemy unto them. And that he would have thought his money better ſpent, if I had been a Scullion in a Colledge of Jeſuites, then if I ſhould prove a Generall of the Order of Dominicans; that I ſhould never think to be welcome to my Brothers nor kindred in *England*, nor to him; that I ſhould not expect ever more to heare from him, nor dare to ſee him if ever I returned to *England*; but expect

expect that he would set upon mee even Jesuites, whom I had deserted and opposed, to chase mee out of my Country; that *Hailing* house though hee had lost it with much more meanes for his Religion during his life; yet with the consent of my Eldest Brother (now Governour of *Oxford*, and Masse-founder in that our Famous University) hee would sell it away; that neither from the Estate, or money made of it, I might enjoy a child's part due unto mee. These reasons stole that nights rest from my body, and sleep from my eyes, teares keeping them unclosed and open, lest *Cynthia's* black and mourning Mantle should offer to cover, close and shut them. To this Letters consideration was joyned a strong opposition, which serious Studies & ripeness of Learning, with a carefull discusion of some Schoole-points and Controversies had bred in mee against some chief of the Popish Tenents. Well could I have wished to have come to *England*, there to satisfie and ease my troubled Conscience; well considered I, that if I stayed in *Spain*, when my Studies were compleatly finished, the Dominicans with a Popes Mandamus would send me home for a Missionary to my Country. But then well considered I the sight of a wrathfull Father, the power of a furious Brother a Colonell, who (as now landed in *England* to search me out, and do me mischief) then, when *Zephyrus* with a pleasant gale seconded his Popish zeale, might violently assault mee. Well considered I the increased rout and rable of both their great friends, the Jesuites, who what with Court friends power, what with subtle plots and Policies would soone and easily hunt me out of *England*. Lastly, well considered I my *Melendez* his last inducing Argument of the increase of knowledge naturall by the insight of rich *America* and flourishing *Asia*, and of knowledge spiritual by a long contemplation of that new planted Church, and of those Church Planters lives and Conversations. Wherefore after a whole nights strife and inward debate, as the glorious Planet began to banish nights dismall horror, rising with a bright and cheerefull countenance, rose in my minde a firme and settled resolution to visit *America*, and there to abide till such time as Death should surpris me of. So in recompence of the Supper which my friend *Anthony* had bestowed upon mee, I gave him a most pleasing breakfast by discovering unto him my purpose and resolution to accompany him in his long and Navall journey. And at noon I feasted him with a dinner of one dish more then his breakfast, to wit, the company also of my Irish friend *Thomas DeLeon*. After dinner wee both were presented to *Calvo* the bald pate Superiour; who immediately imbraced us, promised to us many curtesies in the way, read unto us a Memorandum of what dainties he had provided for us, what varieties of fish and fesh, how many Sheep, how many Gammons of Bacon, how many fat Hens, how many Hogs, how many barrells of white Bisket, how many Jars of wine of *Casilla*, what store of Rice, Figs, Olives, Capars, Rayfins, Lemmons, sweet and sowre Oranges, Pomegranates, Comfits, Preserves, Conferences and all sorts of *Portingall* sweet meates; hee flattered us that hee would make us Masters of Arts, and of Divinity in *Manila*; then opened hee his purse, and freely gave us to spend that day in *Xerez*, and to buy what moit we had a mind to, and to carry us to *Cales*; Lastly hee opened his hands to bestow upon us the holy Fathers Benediction, that no mischief might befall us in our way; I expected some Relique or nail of his great toe, or one of his velvet Pantofles to kisse; But peradventure with frequent kissing through *Italy* and all *Castilla* it was even worn thredbare. Much were wee frowned at by the Dominicans our chiefest friends of *Xerez*, but the liberty which with *Melendez* we enjoyed that day about the City of *Xerez* tooke from us all sad thoughts, which so suddaine a departure from our friends might have caused in us. And *Calvo* much fearing that the love of some Nuns (too powerfull with Spanish Fryers) might yet keep us back from pursuing our purposed journey, with cunning policy perswaded us to depart from *Xerez* the next morning. Which willingly wee performed in company of *Melendez* and another Spanish Fryer of that City (leaving our Chests and Bookes to *Calvo* to send after us) and that day wee travailed like Spanish Dons upon our little Boricoes, or Asses towards *Puerto de Santa Maria* taking in our way that stately Convent of *Cartusians*, and the River of *Guadalebe*, the former Poets River of oblivion, tasting of the fruits of those *Elysium* fields and Gardens and drinking of *Guadalebes* Crytall Streams, that so perpetuall oblivion might blind and cover all those Abstractive Species which the intuitive know-

ledge of *Spains* and *Xerezes* pleasant objects had deeply stamped in our thoughts and hearts. At evening wee came to that *Puerto* so famous for harbouring *Spains* chief Gallies, and at that time *Don Frederique de Toledo*, who hearing of the arrivall of foure *Indian* Apostles, would not loose that occasion of some Soule-Sanctification (which he thought might bee his purchase) by entertaining us that night at Supper. The Town thought their Streets blessed with our walking in them, and wished they might enjoy some Reliques from us, whom they beheld as appointed to Martyrdome for Christ and Antichrists sake together; the Galley slaves strived who should sound their Waits and Trum-pets most joyfully, *Don Frederique* spared no cost in Fish and Flesh that night, doubting not but that receiving foure Prophets, hee should receive a fourefold reward hereafter. Supper being ended, wee were by *Don Frederique* his Gentlemen conveyed to the Cloi-ster of the *Minims* appointed by *Don Frederique* to lodge us that night, who to shew their brotherly love washed our feet, and so recommended us to quiet and peaceable rest. The next morning after a stately breakfast bestowed upon us by those poor Men-dicant Fryers, a boat was prepared for us and *Don Frederique* his Gentlemen to wait on us, and to convey us to *Cales*. Where wee found out our fellow Apostles, and the Popes Commissary Fryer *Mathew De la Villa*, who welcomed us with *Romes* Indul-gences, a culpa & a pena, and with a flourishing Table stored with Fish and Flesh for dinner: There wee continued in daily honour and estimation, enjoying the sights most pleasant which *Cales* both by Sea and Land could afford unto us, untill the time of the Fleets departing. Which when it drew neere, our Grand Apostle Fryer *Mathew De la Villa*, (whom wee thought burned with zeal of Martyrdome) tooke his leave of us; shewing us the Popes Commission to nominate in his place whom hee list, and naming bald *Calvo* for Superiour, returning himselfe to *Madrid* with more desire to enjoy a Bishoprick in *Spain* (as wee understood) then to sacrifice his life in *Japan*. His departure caused a Mutiny among us, and cooled the spirit of two of our Missionaries, who privily fled from us. The rest were pleased with honest *Calvo*, for that hee was a simple and ignorant old man, (whom they could more jeere then any way respect) more Scullion-like in daily greazing his white habit with handling his fat Gammons of Bacon, then like a Popes Commissary; for his Masters Toe the proudest of our Missioners then would willingly have kissed; yet *Calvos* greazy fits the humblest would loath to have kissed. Thus under a sloven was that Apostolicall Mission to bee conveyed first to *Mexico* three thousand *Spanish* Leagues from *Spain*, and afterwards three thousand Leagues further from thence to *Manila* the Metropolitan and Court City of the Islands of *Philippinas*.

CHAP. V.

Of the Indian Fleet that departed from Cales, Anno Dom. 1625. And of some remarkable passages in that Voiage.

Vpon the first of *July* in the afternoon, *Don Carlos de Ybarra* Admirall of the Galeons that then lay in the Baye of *Cales* gave order that a warning Peece should be shot off to warne all Passengers, Soldiers, and Mariners to betake themselves the next morning to their Ships. O what was it to see some of our Apostolicall company who had enjoyed much liberty for a moneth in *Cales*, who had began to entangle their hearts with some young Nuns love, now hang down their heads, and act with sad and demure looks loath to depart, and cry out, *Bonum est nos hic esse*, It is good for us to be here: and amongst them one Fryer *Iohn De Pacheco* made the warning Peece to be a warning to him to hide himself (who could no more be found amongst his fellow Missioners) thinking it a part of hard cruelty to forsake a young Franciscan Nun to whom he had engaged and wholly devoted his heart. What was it to see others with weeping eyes piercing through the Iron grates the tender Virgins hearts, leaving and bequeathing unto them some pledges of their wanton love, and receiving from them some Cordialls against Sea-sicknesse, Caps, Shirts and Hand-kerchiefs, to eye them or wear them when *Aeolus* or *Neptune* should most oppose them? The second of *July* in the morning early notice was given unto us, that one Fryer *Pablo de Londres*, an old crab faced English Fryer living in *St. Lucar* had got the Duke of *Medina* his letter and sent it to the Governour of *Cales* charging,

charging him to search for me & to slay me, signifying the King of *Spain* will and pleasure, that no *English* should passe to the *Indies*, having a Countrey of their own to convert; this did that old fryer to stop my passage, having before wrote unto me many letters to the same purpose, and got a letter from that father Master that was in *England* before, with the Count of *Gondomar*, alias Fryer *Diego de la Fluente*, then Provinciall of *Castilia*, and sent it unto mee, wherein that Superiour offered mee many kind offers of preferment, if I would desist from my journey, and return to him to *Castilia*; but none of these letters could prevail with mee; nor the Governours searching stop mee; for immediately I was conveyed alone to our ship, and there closely hid in a barrell that was emptied of Bisquet to that purpose; so that when the Governour came a ship-board to enquire for an *English* man, Fryer *Calvo* having the father of liers in my stead about him, resolutely denied mee, who would not be found, because not sought for in a barrells belly. This found our Apostles sport and talk that first day. Then went out the ships one by one crying *Adios*, *A dios*, and the Towne replying *Buen viaje*, *buen viaje*; when all were out and no hopes of enjoying more *Cake* pleasures and liberty, then began my young Fryers to wish themselves again a Land, some began presently to feed the fishes with their Nuns sweet dainties; others to wonder at the number of stately ships, which with eight Galeons that went to convey us beyond the Islands of *Canaria* were fourty one in all; some for one Port of the *Indies*, and some for another. To *Puerto Rico* went that year two ships; to *Santo Domingo* three, to *Jamaica* two, to *Margarita* one, to the *Havana* two, to *Cartagena* three, to *Campeche* two, to *Honduras* and *Truxillo* two, and to *St. John Dillva*, or *Vera Cruz* sixteen; all laden with Wines, Figs, Raisins, Olives, Oyle, Cloth, Carries, Linnen, Iron, and quick silver for the Mines, to fetch out the pure silver of *Sacatecos* from the earthen drosse from whence it is digged. The persons of most note that went that year; was first the Marquesse de *Serralvo* with his Lady, who went for Viceroy of *Mexico*, in stead of the Conde de *Gelves* then retired to a Cloister for feare of the common people, who the year before had mutinied against him; this Marquesse went in the ship called *St. Andrew*, and with him in the same ship went *Don Martin de Carrillo* a Preist, and Inquisitor of the Inquisition of *Valladolid*; who was sent for Visiter General to *Mexico*, to examine the strife between the Conde de *Gelves* and the Arch-Bishop, and the mutiny that for their sakes had happened; with full Commission and Authority to imprison, banish, hang and execute all Delinquents. In the ship called *Santa Gertrudis* went *Don John Nino de Toledo*, who was sent to be President of *Manila* in *Philippinas*, and in the same ship with him went the whole Mission of thirty Jesuites sent to *Philippinas*; who had already got the favour of the President, and politickly sought to be passengers in the same ship, that so they might the more ingratiate themselves to him; for this cunning generation studies purposely how to insinuate themselves with Kings, Princes, Great men, Rulers, and Commanders. In the ship called *St. Antony* went my Dominican Mission of 27 Fryers. In the ship called *Nuestra Señora de Regla* went four and twenty Mercenarian Fryers bound for *Mexico*; part of those that afterwards drew their knives to slash and cut the Criollo's of their Profession. Thus with the Convoy of eight Galeons for fear of *Turkes* and *Hollanders* (whom the Spanish *Dons* shake and tremble at) set forward our fleet with a pleasant and prosperous gale, with a quiet and milken sea, untill we came to the Golfe, called *Golfo de Teguaz*, or of *kicking Mares*, whose waves and swelling surges did so kick our ships, that wee thought they would have kicked our *St. Antonies* gilded image out of our ship, and bereaved my *Antonio Melendez* of his gilt and painted idol, (to whom hee daily bowed and prayed against the mercilesse element,) and that all our ships galleries would have been torn from us with these spurnings and blowes of that outrageous Golfe. But at last having overcome the danger of this Golfe, the eight Galeons took their leave of us, and left our Merchant ships now to shift for themselves. The departure of these Galeons was most solemnly performed on each side, saluting each other with their Ordnance, visiting each other with their Cock-boates, the Admirall of the Fleet feasting with a stately dinner in his ship, the Admirall of the Galeons; and the like performing most of the other ships to the severall Colonells and Captains and other their allied friends that were of the Royal Fleet. Here it was worth noting to heare the sighes of many of our *Indian* Apostles, wishing they might return again in any of those Galeons to *Spain*; their zeal was now cold, and some endeavoured many waies for *Calvo* his licence to returne (which

could not be granted) others employed themselves most of that day in writing letters to their friends, and Sisters in *Cales*. Thus dinner being ended, and the two Admiralls solemnly taking their leaves, the warning piece being shot off for the Gallcons to joyn together, and turneth their course to *Spain*, we bad mutuall adieu, crying one to another *Buen Viaie*, *Buen passage*; we kept our course towards *America*, sailing before the wind constantly till we came to *America*; a thing worth noting in that voiage from *Spain* to the *Indies*; that after the Islands of *Canaria* are once left, there is one constant wind, continuing to *America* still the same without any opposition or contrariety of other winds; and this so prosperous and full on the sailes, that did it blow constantly, and were it not interrupted with many calmes, doubtlesse the voiage might be ended in a moneth or lesse. But such were the calmes that many times we had, that we got not to the sight of any land till the twentieth day of *August*: so that neer six weeks we sailed as on a river of fresh water, much delighting and sporting our selves in fishing many sorts fishes, but especially one, which by the *Spaniards* is called *Dorado*, the golden fish, for the skin and scales of it that glitter like gold; of this sort we found such abundance, that no sooner was the hooke with any small bait cast into the sea, when presently the *Dorado* was caught, so that we tooke them many times for pleasure, and cast them againe into the sea, being a fish fitter to be eaten fresh then salted. Many were the feasts and sports used in the ships, till wee discovered the first land, or Island called *Descada*. The last day of *July* (being according to the Jesuites Order, and *Rome*s appointment, the day of *Ignatius* their Patron and founder of their Religion) the gallant ship called *S^{ta}. Gertrudis* (wherein went 30 Jesuites) for theirs and their Saints sake made to all the rest of the Fleet a most gallant shew, shee being trimmed round about with white linnen, her flags and top gallants representing some the Jesuites arms, others the picture of *Ignatius* himself, and this from the evening before, shooting off that night at least fifty shot of Ordinance, besides four or five hundred squibs (the weather being very calme) and all her masts and tacklings hung with paper Lanthornes having burning lights within them; the waits ceased not from sounding, nor the *Spaniards* from singing all night. The daies solempne sport was likewise great, the Jesuites increasing the *Spaniards* joy with an open procession in the ship, singing their superstitious Hymnes and Anthemes to their supposed Saint, and all this seconded with roaring Ordinance, no powder being spared for the compleating of that daies joy and triumph. The fourth of *August* following, being the day which *Rome* doth dedicate to *Dominick*, the first the founder of the Dominicans or Preachers Order, the ship wherein I was, named *St. Anthony*, strived to exceed *S^{ta}. Gertrudis*, by the assistance of the 27 Dominicans that were in her. All was performed both by night and day, as formerly in *S^{ta}. Gertrudis*, both with powder, squibs, lights, Waits and musick. And further did the Dominicans joy and triumph exceed the Jesuites, in that they invited all the Jesuites, with *Don John Nino de Toledo* the President of *Manila*, with the Capitaine of the ship of *S^{ta}. Gertrudis*, to a stately dinner both of Fish and Flesh; which dinner being ended, for the afternoones sport they had prepared a Comedy out of famous *Lope de Vega*, to be acted by some Souldiers, Passengers and some of the younger sort of Fryers, which I confesse was as stately acted and set forth both in shewes and good apparell, in that narrow compasse of our ship, as might have been upon the best stage in the Court of *Madrid*. The Comedy being ended, and a banquet of sweet meates prepared for the closing up of that daies mirth, both ours, and *S^{ta}. Gertrudis* Cock-boat carried backe our invited friends, bidding each other adieu with our Waits and chiefeest Ordinance. Thus went we on our Sea Voiage without any storme, with pleasant gales, many calmes, dayly sports and pastimes till we discovered the first land called *Descada* upon the twentieth day of *August*.

CHAP. VI.

of our discovery of some Islands, and what trouble befell us in one of them.

THE Admirall of our Fleet wondring much at our slow sailing, who from the second of *July* to the 19 of *August* had seen nor discovered any land, save only the Islands of *Canaria*; the same day in the morning called to Councell all the Pilots of the ships,

to know their Opinions concerning our present being, and the nearness of Land. The Ships therefore drew neere unto the Admirall one by one, that every Pilot might deliver his opinion. Here was cause of laughter enough, for the passengers to heare the wise Pilots skil; One saying, we were three hundred miles, another two hundred, another one hundred, another fifty, another more, another lesse, all erring much from the truth (as afterward appeared) save only one old Pilot of the smallest Vessell of all, who affirmed resolutely, that with that small gale wherewith we then sailed, we should come to *Guadalupe* the next morning. All the rest laughed at him, but he might well have laughed at them, for the next morning by Sun-rising we plainly discovered an Island called *Desfada* by the *Spaniards*, or the desired Land, for that at the first discovery of the *Indias*, it was the first Land the *Spaniards* found, being then as desirous to find some Land after many dayes sailing as we were. After this Island presently we discovered another called *Marigalante*, then another called *Dominica*, and lastly, another named *Guadalupe*, which was that we aimed at to refresh our selves in, to wash our foule cloathes, and to take in fresh water, whereof we stood in great need. By two or three of the clock in the afternoone we came to a safe Rode lying before the Island, where we cast our Anchors, no wayes fearfull of the naked Barbarians of that and the other Islands, who with great joy doe yearly expect the *Spanish* Fleets comming, and by the Moones doe reckon the Moneths, and thereby make their guess at their comming, and prepare some their sugar Canes, others the Plantin, other the Tobacco, some one Provision, some another to barter with the *Spaniards* for their small Haberdash, or Iron, Knives, or such things which may help them in their Wars, which commonly they make against some other Islands. Before our Anchors was cast, out came the *Indians* to meet us in their Canoa's, round like Troughes, some whereof had beene painted by our *English*, some by the *Hollanders*, some by the *French*, as might appeare by their severall Armes, it being a common Rode and harbour to all Nations that saile to *America*.

Before we resolved to goe to shore, we tasted of those *Indian* fruites, the plantin above all pleasing our taste and Palate. Wee could not but much wonder at that sight never yett seen by us of people naked, with their haire hanging down to the middle of their backs, with their faces cut out in severall fashions, or flowers, with thin plates hanging at their Noses, like Hog-rings, and fauning upon us like children, some speaking in their unknowne tongue, others using signs for such things as we imagined they desired. Their signe for some of our *Spanish* Wine was easily perceived, and their request most willingly granted to by our men, who with one reasonable Cup of *Spanish* Sacke presently tumbled up their heeles, and left them like swine tumbling on the Deck of our Ship. After a while that our people had sported with these rude and Savage *Indians*, our two Cock-Boates were ready to carry to shore such as either had clothes to wash, or a desire to bathe themselves in a River of fresh Water which is within the Island, or a mind to set their feet again upon unmoveable Land, after so many daies of uncertain footing in a floating and reeling Ship. But that day being farre spent, our Fryers resolved to stay in the Ship, and the next whole day to visit the Island; many of the Mariners and Passengers of all the Ships went that evening to shore, some returning at night, and some without feare continuing with the *Indians* all night on shore. The next morning my selfe and most of our Fryers went and having hired some *Spaniards* to wash our cloathes, we wandered sometimes all together sometimes two and two, and sometimes one alone about the Island, meeting with many *Indians*, who did us no hurt, but rather like children fauned upon us, offering us of their fruits, and begging of us whatsoever toies of pins, points or gloves they espied about us. Wee ventured to goe to some of their houses which stood by a pleasant River, and were by them kindly entertained, eating of their fish, and wild deeres flesh. About noone wee chanced to meet with some of the Jesuites of *Santa Gertrudis* Ship in the midst of the Mountain, who were very earnest in talke with a *Mulatto*, all naked like the rest of the *Indians*. This *Mulatto* was a Christian, born in *Sevill* in *Spain*, and had been slave there formerly to a rich Merchant, his name was *Lewis*, and spoke the *Spanish* Language very perfectly. Some twelve yeeres before, hee had run away from his Master by reason of hard and slavish usage, and having got to *Cales*, offering his service to a Gentleman then bound for *America*, the Gentleman fearing not that his true Master should ever have more notice of him from a new World, took him a Ship board with

him as his slave. The *Mulatto* remembring the many stripes which hee had suffered from his first cruell Master, and fearing that from *America* hee might by some intelligence or other be sent back again to *Spain*, and also jealous of his second Master (whose blowes hee had begun to suffer in the Ship) that hee would prove as cruell as his first; when the Ships arrived at *Guadalupe*, resolved rather to die among the *Indians* (which hee knew might be his hardest torture) then evermore to live in slavery under *Spaniards*. So casting his life upon good or bad fortune, hee hid himselfe among the trees in the Mountaine till the Ships were departed; who after being found by the *Indians*, and giving them some toys which hee had got by stealth from his Master, hee was entertained by them, they liking him, and hee them. Thus continued this poore Christian slave among those Barbarians from yeare to yeare; who had care to hide himselfe at the comming of the *Spanish* Fleet yearly. In twelve yeares that hee had thus continued amongst them, hee had learned their language, was married to an *Indian*, by whom hee had three children living. The Jesuites by chance having met with him, and perceiving more by the Wooll upon his head, that hee was a *Mulatto*, then by his black and tauny skin (for those *Indians* paint themselves all over with a red colour) they presently imagined the truth that hee could not come thither but with some *Spaniard*, so entering into discourse with him, and finding him to speak *Spanish*, they got the whole truth of him. Then wee joyning with the Jesuites, began to perswade the poore Christian to forsake that heathenish life, wherein his soule could never bee saved, promising him if hee would goe along with us, hee should bee free from slavery for ever. Poore Soule, though hee had lived twelve yeares without hearing a word of the true God, worshipping stockes and stones with the other Heathens; yet when hee heard again of Chritt, of eternall damnation in bells torments, and of everlasting Salvation in Heavens joyes, hee began to weep, assuring us that hee would goe with us, were it not for his Wife and Children, whom hee tenderly loved, and could not forsake them. To this wee replied, that hee might be a meanes of saving likewise their Soules, if hee would bring them with him; and further that wee would assure him that care should bee taken that neither hee, his Wife, nor children should ever want meanes competent for the maintenance of their lives. The *Mulatto* hearkned well to all this, though a suddaine feare surprized him, because certaine *Indians* passed by, and noted his long conference with us. The poore and timorous *Mulatto* then told us, that hee was in danger, for having been knowne by us, and that hee feared the *Indians* would kill him, and suspect that wee would steale him away; which if they did, and it were noised about the Island, wee should soone see their love changed into cruell rage and Muciny. Wee perswaded him not to feare any thing they could doe to us, who had Souldiers, Guns and Ordnance to secure ours and his life also, wishing him to resolve to bring his Wife and Children but to the Seaside, where our men were drying their Clothes, and would defend him, and a Boat should bee ready to convey him with his Wife and Children a Ship board. The *Mulatto* promised to doe as wee had counselled him, and that hee would entice his Wife and Children to the Sea side to barter with us their Wares for ours, desiring some of the Jesuites (whom hee said he should know by their black Coates) to bee there ready for him with a Cock-Boat. *Lewis* departed, as to us hee seemed resolute in what hee had agreed; Our joy likewise was great with the hope of bringing to the light of Christianity five Soules out of the darknesse of heathenish Idolatry. The Jesuites who had begun with this *Mulatto* were desirous that the happy end and conclusion might bee their glory. So taking their leaves of us, they hastened to the Sea to informe the Admirall of what they had done, and to provide that the Cock-Boat of their Ship might bee in readinesse to receive *Lewis*, and his family. Wee likewise returned to the shore to see if our Shirts, and Clothes were dry. Most of us (among whom my selfe was one) finding our Linnen ready and our Boat on shore went aboard to our Ship, leaving two or three of our company with many of other Ships on shore, especially the Jesuites waiting for their prey. When we came to our Ship, most of our Fryers with what love they had found in the Barbarians, were inflamed with a new zeale of staying in that Island, and converting those Heathens to Christianity, apprehending it an easie businesse (they being a loving people) and no wayes dangerous to us, by reason of the Fleet that yearly passeth that way, and might enquire after our usage. But by some it was objected, that it was a rash and foolish

zeale with great hazard of their lives, and many inconveniences were objected against so blind and simple an attempt. But those that were most zealous slighted all reasons, saying that the worst that could happen to them could bee but to be butchered, sacrificed and eaten up; and that for such a purpose they had come out of *Spain* to be crowned with the Crowne of Martyrdome for confessing and preaching *Jesus Christ*. While wee were hot in this solemne consultation, behold an uproare on the shoare, our people running to and fro to save their lives, leaving their clothes, and hasting to the Cock-Boats, filling them so fast and so full, that some sunke with all the people in them; Above all, most pitiful and lamentable were the cries of some of our women, many casting themselves to the Sea, choosing rather to venture to be taken up by some Boat, or at worst to bee drowned, then to bee taken and to bee cruelly butchered by the *Indians*. Wee wondering at this suddain alteration, not knowing the cause of it, at last perceived the Arrowes to come out thick from the Wood from behind the Trees, and thereby guessed at the truth that the Barbarians were mutinied. The uproare lasted not halfe an houre, for presently our Admirall shot off two or three Peeces of Ordnance and sent a Company of Souldiers to shore to guard it and our people with their Muskets; which was well and suddainly performed, and all the *Indians* soon dispersed. Three of our Fryers who had remained on the land, our Cock-Boat brought them to us with more of our Passengers, among whom one Fryer *John De la Cueva*, was dangerously shot and wounded in one of his Shoulders; this Fryer had bene earnest with mee to stay on shore with him, which I refused, and so escaped that cruell and fiery onset of the *Indians*. Besides those that were drowned and taken up at shore (which were fifteen persons) two Jesuites were found dead upon the Sand, three more dangerously wounded, three passengers likewise slaine, ten wounded, besides three more of the Fleet which could never bee found alive or dead, and were thought to have bene found in the Wood by the *Indians*, and to have bene murdered by them. Our *Mulan Lewis* came not according to his word; but in his stead a suddaine Army of treacherous *Indians*, which gave us motive enough to thinke, that either *Lewis* himselfe had discovered the Jesuites Plot to take him away with his Wife and Children; or that the *Indians* suspecting it by his talk with us had made him confesse it. And certainly this was the ground of their Mutiny; for whereas *Lewis* before had said, that hee would know the Jesuites by their black Coats, it seemes hee had well described them above all the rest unto the *Indians*, for (as it was after well observed) most of their Arrowes was directed to the black Markes, and so five of them in little above a quarter of an houre slaine and wounded. All that night our Souldiers guarded the Coast, often shooting off their Muskets, to asfright the *Indians*, who appeared no more unto us. All that night wee slept little, for wee watched our Ship; lest the *Indians* in their Canoas should set upon us and take us asleepe. Some lamented the dead and drowned, others pitied our wounded Fryer *John De la Cueva*, who all that night lay in great torment and misery, others laughed and jeered at those zealous Fryers, who would have stayed in that Island to Convert the Barbarians, saying they had had their full desire of Martyrdome, for had they bene but that night with the *Indians*, doubtlesse they had bene shred for their Suppers. But now wee perceived their zeale was coole, and they desired no more to stay with such a Barbarous kind of People; but rather wished the Admirall would shoot off the warning Peece for us all to take up our Anchors, and depart from so dangerous a place. In the morning all the Ships made hast to take in such fresh water as was necessary for their voiage yet to *America*, a strong watch being kept along the Coast, and a Guard guarding our men to the River; and all the morning while this was doing not one *Indian* could bee found or seen, nor our three men that were missing, appeared. Thus at noone with a pleasant and prosperous Gale we hoisted up our Sailes, leaving the Islands, and harbour of *Guadalupe*.

CHAP. VII.

Of our further Sayling to *St. John de Vilhua*, aliàs, *Vera Crux*; and of our landing there.

Upon the 22 day of *August*, wee sailed so pleasantly that wee soone left the sight of the Islands; The *Indians* uproare had weaved for us a thred of long discourse; It made

made some hate their calling to teach and convert *Indians*. But *Calvo* hee encouraged us, telling us many stories of the good and gentle nature of the *Indians* of *Philippinas*, to whom we were going, and that most of them were Christians already, who esteemed their Preists as Gods upon the earth; and that those that were not as yet converted to Christianity, were kept in awe by the power of the *Spaniards*. Our chiefe care the first two or three daies was to looke to our plantins which we got from the *Indians*. This fruit pleased us all exceedingly, judging it to bee as good, or better then any fruit in *Spain*. It is not gathered ripe from the tree, but being gathered green, it is hung up some daies, and so ripens and growes yellow and mellow, and every bit as sweet as honey. Our Sugar Canes were no lesse pleasing unto us, whilst chewing the pith, we refreshed and sweetened our mouthes with the juice. We fed for the first week almost upon nothing but *Tortois*; which seemed likewise to us that had never before seen it, one of the Sea monsters, the shell being so hard as to beare any Cart wheel, and in some above two yards broad; when first they were opened, we were amazed to see the number of egges that were in them, a thousand being the least that we judged to be in some of them. Our *Spaniards* made with them an excellent broth with all sorts of spices. The meat seemed rather flesh then Sea fish, which being corned with salt, and hung up two or three dayes in the aire, tasted like Veal. Thus our Hens, our Sheep, our powdered Beef, and gammons of Bacon, which we brought from *Spain*, were some dayes slighted, while with greedy stomacks we fell hard to our Sea Veale.

After foure dayes sail, our Fryer *John de la Cueva*, who had been shot by the *Indians*, died; all his body being swelled, which gave us just occasion to thinke, that the arrow which was shot into his shoulder was poisoned. His buriall was as solemnly performed as could be at Sea. His grave being the whole Ocean, he had weighty stones hung to his feet, two more to his shoulders, and one to his brest; and then the superstitious *Romish* *Drige* and *Requiem* being sung for his soul, his Corpe being held out to the Sea on the ship side, with ropes ready to let him fall, all the ship crying out three times, *buen Viaie* (that is, a good Voiage) to his soul chiefly, and also to his Corpe ready to travail to the deep to feed the Whales: at the first cry all the Ordnance were shot off, the ropes on a suddain loosed, and *John de la Cueva* with the weight of heavy stones plunged deep into the Sea, whom no mortal eyes ever more beheld. The like we saw performed in the ship of *Santa Gertrudis*, to another Jesuite, one of the three who had been dangerously wounded by the *Indians* of *Gnadalupe*; who likewise died like our Fryer, his body being swelled as with poyson. Now our sailing was more comfortable then before; for we passed in the sight of the land of *Puerto Rico*, and then of the great Island of *S^t. Domingo*; and here our company began to be lessened, some departing to *Puerto Rico*, and *S^t. Domingo*, others to *Cartagena*, and *Havana*, and *Honduras*, *Jamaica*, and *Jucatan*. We remained now alone the Fleet for *Mexico*; and so sailed till we came to what the *Spaniards* call *la Sonda*, or the sound of *Mexico*; for here we often sounded the Sea; which was so calme, that a whole week we were stayd for want of wind, scarce stirring from the place where first we were caught by the calme. Here likewise we had great sport in fishing, filling again our bellies with *Dorados*, and saving that provision which we had brought from *Spain*. But the heat was so extraordinary, that the day was no pleasure unto us; for the repercussion of the suns heat upon the still water and pitch of our ships, kindled a scorching fire, which all the day dilempered our bodies with a constant running sweat, forcing us to cast off most of our clothes. The evenings and nights were somewhat more comfortable, yet the heat which the sun had left in the pitched ribs and planks of the ship was such, that under deck and in our Cabins wee were not able to sleep, but in our shirts were forced to walke, or sit, or lie upon the deck. The Mariners fell to washing themselves and to swimming, till the infortunate death of one in the ship called *S^t. Francisco*, made them suddainly leave off that sport. The neerer wee came to the main land, the sea abounds with a monstrous fish called by the *Spaniards*, *Tiburon*. Some mistake this fish for the *Caiman*, or *Crocodile*, holding them both for one; and thinking that it is only the *Caiman* or *Crocodile* (by abuse called *Tiburon*) which devours mans flesh, a whole joynt at a bit in the water. But the mistake is grosse, for the *Caiman* is plated all over with shells, whereas the *Tiburon* hath no shells, but only like other great Sea fishes, hath a thick skin. The *Caiman* though the *Indians* eat of it, yet the *Spaniards* hate it; who eat of the *Tiburon*; and in our ship catching one with a tridentall iron Fork,


Fork, and haling him with a Cable rope to the ship side, and then binding him with it, (being as much as a dozen or fifteen men could do to hoise him up into the ship) we found him to be a most monitrous creature, twelve els long at least, which we salted, and found likewise to eat like flesh, as hath been said of the *Tortois*. This kind is as ravenous after mans flesh as the *Crocodile*, and many of them were to be seen in this Sound of *Mexico*.

The *Spaniards* bathing themselves daily by the ships side, (where there is no such danger of the *Tibaren*; who use not to come too neere the ships) one Mariner of the ship called *St. Francisco* being more venturous then the rest, and offering to swimme from his ship, to see some friends in another not farre off, chanced to be a most unfortunate prey to one of them, who before any boat could be set out to help him, was thrice seen to bee pulled under water by the Monster, who had devoured a leg, an arme, and part of his shoulder; the rest of the body was after found and taken up, and carried to *S. Francisco*, and there buried in the forme and manner as hath been said of our Fryer *John de la Cueva*. They that goe downe to the sea in ships, these see the workes of the Lord, and his wonders in the deepe, *Ps. 107. 23, 24.* Here they shall see not only Whales, but other Fishes like Monsters mastering strong and valiant men, with severall sets of sharpe, strong and mighty teeth, devouring at one bit whole limmes with flesh and bones together. This mischance saddled all our Fleet for three daies till it pleased God to refresh our burning heat with a cool and prosperous wind, driving us out of that calm Sound, which (if we had continued in it with that excessive heat) might have proved most unsound and unhealthy to our bodies. Three daies after we had sailed, being Munday in the morning about seven of the clock, one of our Fryers saying Masse, and all the people in the ship kneeling to hear it, and to adore their bread God, one Mariner with a loud and suddain voice crieth out *Tierra, Tierra, Tierra*, Land, Land, Land, which rejoiced the hearts of all that were in the ship, as it seemed, more then their Masse, for leaving that, and their God upon the Altar with the Priest to eat him alone, they arose from their knees, to behold the Continent of *America*. Great was the joy of all the ships that day, and great was the slaughter which our old *Calvo* made among his fowles. (which he had spared formerly) to feast that day his Fryers. About ten of the clock the whole face of the land was visibly apparent, and wee with full sail running to imbrace it. But our wise Admirall knowing the danger of the Coast, and especially the dangerous entring into the Haven, by reason of the many rockes that lie about it; and are known only by markes and flags set out to give all ships warning of them; perceiving that with the wind wherewith wee sailed then, we should not come till towards evening to the Port: and lastly, fearing lest some North-wind (which is dangerous upon that Coast, and ordinary in the month of *September*) should in the night arise, and endanger all our ships upon the rockes; he therefore called to Councell all the Pilots, to know whether it were best to keep on our sailing with full sail that day, with hopes to get that day in good time into the Haven, or else with the middle sail only to draw neer, that the next morning with more security wee might with the help of boats from land be guided in. The result of the Councell was not to venture that day too neer unto the Port, for fear of being benighted, but to pull down all, but the middle sail. The wind began to calme, and our ships to move slowly towards land, and so we continued till night. A double watch was kept that night in our ship, and the Pilot was more watchfull himselfe and more carefull then at other times; But our Fryers betooke themselves to their rest; which continued not long; for before midnight the wind turned to the North, which caused a suddain and generall cry and uproar in ours, and all the other ships. Our Mariners came to the Fryers, using almost the same words of *Jonah 1. 6. What meanest thou, O sleeper? Arise call upon thy God, if so bee that God will thinke upon us, that we perish not.* They changed the name of God into the blessed Virgin *Mary*, in whom they seeme to confide in such occasions more then in God himselfe. Their feare was more for the apprehension of danger by that kind of wind, and of what might happen, then for what as yet the wind threatned, which was not strong nor boisterous, however hallowed wax candles were lighted by the Fryers, knees bowed to *Mary*, Letanies and other hymnes and prayers sung aloud unto her, till towards the dawning of the day; when behold the North wind ceased, our wonted gale began to blow again, it being Gods will and pleasure, and no effect of the howling Fryers prayers to *Mary*, who yet superstitiously

stitiously to deceive the simple people, cried out, *Milagro, Milagro, Milagro*, a miracle, a miracle, a miracle. By eight a clock in the morning wee came to the sight of the houses, and made signes for boats to convey us into the Haven; which immediately with great joy came out, and guided us one by one between those Rockes, which make that Port as dangerous as any I have discovered in all my travailes both upon the North and South sea. Our Waits plaied most pleasantly, our Ordnance saluted both Towne and Fort over against it, our hearts and countenances reciprocally rejoiced; wee cast our Anchors, which yet were not enough to secure our ships in that most dangerous Haven, but further with Cable ropes we secured them to Iron rings, which for that purpose are fastned into the Wall of the Fort, for feare of the strong and boisterous Northerne winds. And thus welcoming one another to a new world, many boates waiting for us, we presently went with joy to set footing in *America*.

CHAP. VIII.

Of our Landing at Vera Crux, otherwise St. John de Ulhua, and of our entertainment there.

 Pon the 12 day of September, we happily arrived in *America* in that famous Towne, called *St. John de Ulhua*, otherwise *Vera Crux*; famous for that it was the first beginning of the famous conquest of that valiant and ever renowned Conqueror *Hernando Cortez*. Here first was that noble and generous resolution, that never heard of policy, to linke the ships, which had brought the first *Spaniards* to that Continent, greater then any of the other three parts of the world, to the intent that they might thinke of nothing but such a conquest as after followed, being destitute of the helpe of their ships, and without hopes evermore to returne to *Cuba*, *Yucatan*, or any of those parts from whence they had come. Here it was, that the first five hundred *Spaniards* strengthened themselves against millions of enemies, and against the biggest fourth part of all the world. Here were the first Magistrates, Judges, Aldermen, Officers of Justice named. The proper name of the Towne is *St. John de Ulhua*, otherwise called *Vera Crux*, from the old Harbour and Haven of *Vera Crux*, six leagues from this, and so called for that upon good Friday it was first discovered. But the old *Vera Crux* proving too dangerous an Harbour for ships, by reason of the violence of the Northern winds, it was utterly forsaken by the *Spaniards*, who removed to *St. John De Ulhua*, where their ships found the first safe road by reason of a Rocke, which is a strong defence against the winds. And because the memory of the worke of that good Friday should never be forgotten, to *St. John de Ulhua* they have added the name also of *Vera Crux*, taken from that first Haven which was discovered upon good Friday, Anno 1519.

As soone as we came to shore, wee found very solemne preparations for entertainment, all the Towne being resorted to the Sea side, all the Priests and Canons of the Cathedrall Church, all the religious Orders of the severall Convents (which are there Dominicans, Franciscans, Mercenarians, and Jesuites) being in a readinesse with their Crosses borne before them, to guide the new Viceroy of *Mexico*, in procession to the chiefe Cathedrall Church. The Fryers and Jesuites were quicker in going to land then the great *Don* the Marquesse de *Serralvo* and his Lady. Some of them kissed the ground as holy in their opinion, for the Conversion of those *Indians* to Christianity, who before had worshipped Idols, and sacrificed to Devils; others kneeled upon their knees making short prayers, some to the Virgin *Mary*, others to such Saints as they best affected; and so betooke themselves to the places and stations of those of their profession. In the mean time all the Cannon playing both from ships and Castle, landed the Viceroy and his Lady and all his Train, accompanied with *Don Martin de Carrillo* the Visiter generall for the strife between the Count of *Gelves*, the last Viceroy, & the Archbishop of *Mexico*. The great *Don* and his Lady being placed under a Canope of state, began the Te Deum to be sung with much variety of muscall instruments, all marching in procession to the Cathedrall, where with many lights of burning lanpes, torches, & Wax candles, was to the view of all, set upon the high Altar their God of bread, to whom all knees were bowed, a prayer of thanks-giving sung, holy water by a Priest sprinkled


sprinkled upon all the people, and lastly a Masse with three preists solemnly celebrated. This being ended the Viceroy was attended on by the Chief High Justice, named *Alcalde Major* by the Officers of the Town, some Judges sent from *Mexico* to that purpose, and all the Souldiers of the Ships and Town unto his lodging; The Fryers likewise in Procession with their Crosse before them were conducted to their severall Cloisters. Fryer *Calvo* presented his Dominicans to the Prior of the Cloister of *St. Dominicke*, who entertained us very lovingly with some sweet Meates, and every one with a Cup 'of the *Indian* drink called *Chocolatte*, whereof I shall speake hereafter. This refreshment being ended, wee proceeded to a better, which was a most stately Dinner both of Fish and Flesh; no Fowles were spared, many Capons, Turkey Cocks, and Hens were prodigally lavished, to shew us the abundance and plenty of Provision of that Country. The Prior of this Cloister was no stayed, ancient, grey-headed man, such as usually are made Superiours to govern young and wanton Fryers; but hee was Gallant and Amorous young Sparke, who (as wee were there informed) had obtained from his Superiour the Provinciall the Government of that Convent with a Bribe of a thousand Duckats. After dinner hee had some of us to his Chamber, where wee observed his lightnesse and little favour of Religion or Mortification in him; We thought to have found in his Chamber some stately Library, which might tel us of Learning and love of Study; but we found not above a dozen old Bookes, standing in a corner covered with dust and Cobwebs, as if they were ashamed that the Treasure that lay hid in them, should be so much forgotten, and undervalued, and the *Guitarra* (the *Spanish* Lute) preferred and set above them. His Chamber was richly dressed and hung with many pictures, and with hangings, some made with Cotten Wooll, others with various coloured feathers of *Mexicoacan*, his Tables covered with Carpets of Silk; his Cubboards adorned with severall sorts of *China* Cups and Dishes, stored within with severall dainties of sweet Meates and Conserve.

This sight seemed to the zealous Fryers of our Mission most vaine, and unbecoming a poore and mendicant Fryer; to the others, whose end in coming from *Spain* to those parts was Liberty, and loosnesse, and covetousnesse of riches, this sight was pleasing and gave them great incouragement to enter further into that Country, where soone a Mendicant *Lazarus* might become a proud and wealthy *Dives*. The discourse of the young and light headed Prior was nothing but vaine boasting of himself, of his birth, his parts, his favour with the chiefe Superior or Provinciall, the love which the best Ladies, the richest Merchants Wives of the Towne bare unto him, of his cleere and excellent voice, and great dexterity in Musick, whereof he presently gave us a taste, tuning his *Guitarra* and singing to us some verses (as hee said, of his owne composing) some lovely *Amaryllis*, adding scandall to scandall, loosnesse to liberty, which it grieved some of us to see in a Superiour who should have taught with words, and in his life and Conversation examples of Repentance and Mortification. No sooner were our senses of hearing delighted well with Musick, our sight with the objects of Cotten-Wool, Silke and Feather workes, but presently our Prior caused to be brought forth of all his store of dainties, such variety as might likewise relish well and delight our sense of tasting. Thus as wee were truly transported from *Europe* to *America*, so the World seemed truly to bee altered, our senses changed from what they were the night & day before when we heard the hideous noise of the Mariners hoisting up Sailes, when wee saw the deep and monsters of it, when we tasted the stinking water, when we smelt the Tarre and Pitch; but here wee heard a quivering and trembling voice and instrument well tuned, wee beheld wealth and riches, wee tasted what was sweet, and in the Sweet-meates smelt the Muske and Civit, wherewith that Epicurean Prior had seasoned his Conserve. Here wee broke up our discourse and pastimes, desirous to walke abroad and take a view of the Towne, having no more time then that, and the next day to stay in it. Wee compassed it round about that afternoone; and found the situation of it to be sandy, except on the South-West side, where it is Moorish ground, and full of standing Bogs, which with the great heates that are there, cause it to be a very unhealthy place; The number of Inhabitants may bee three thousand, and amongst them some very rich Merchants, some worth two hundred, some three hundred, and some foure hundred thousand Duckats. Of the buildings little we observed, for they are all, both Houses, Churches, and Cloisters built with Boards and Timber, the Walls of the richest mans house being made but of boards, which with the impetuous Winds from

from the North hath bin caue that many times the town hath bin for the most part of it burnt down to the ground. The great Trading from *Mexico*, & by *Mexico* from the *East-Indies*, from *Spain*, from *Cuba*, *Sto. Domingo*, *Juecan*, *Portables*, and by *Portabello* from *Peru*, from *Cartagena*, and all the Islands lying upon the North Sea, and by the River *Atvarado* going up to *Laputea*, *St. Ildefonso*, and towards *Guzaca*, and by the River *Grijala*, running up to *Tabasco*, *Los Zoques* and *Chiapa de Indios*, maketh this little Town very rich, and to abound with all the Commodities of the Continent Land, and of all the East and *West-India's* Treasures. The unhealthinesse of the place is the reason of the paucity of Inhabitants, and the paucity of them, together with the rich Trading and commerce, the reasons that the Merchants therein are extraordinary rich; who yet might have been farre richer, had not the Town been so often fired, and they in the fire had great losses. All the strength of this Towne is first the hard and dangerous entrance into the Haven; and secondly, a rock which lyeth before the Town lesse then a Musket shot off; upon which is built a Castle, and in the Castle a slight Garrison of Souldiers. In the Town there is neither Fort, nor Castle, nor scarce any people of warlike mindes. The Rocke and Castle are as a Wall, defence, and inclosure to the Haven, which otherwise lyeth wide open to the Ocean, and to the Northern Winds. No Ship dares cast anchor within the Haven, but onely under the Rock and Castle, and yet not sure enough so with Anchors, except with Cables also they be bound and fastened to Rings of Iron for that purpose to the side of the Rock; from whence sometimes it hath happened that Ships floating with the Stream too much on one side the Rocke have been driven off and cast upon the other Rockes or out to the Ocean, the Cables of their Anchors, and those wherewith they have beene fastned to the Castle being broken with the force of the Winds. This happened to one of our Ships the first night after we landed, who were happy that we were not then at Sea; for there arose such a storme and Tempest from the North, that it quite broke the Cables of one Ship and drove it out to the maine Sea, and wee thought it would have blowne and driven us out of our beds after it, for the slight boarded houses did so totter & shake, that we expected every houre when they would fall upon our heads. We had that first night enough of *St. John de Ulbua*, and little rest, though feasted as well at Supper as at Dinner by our vaine boasting Prior, who before wee went to bed, had caused all our feet to bee washed, that now in easier beds then for above two moneths together the strait and narrow Cabins of the Ship had allowed us, our sleep might be more quiet, and more nourishing to our bodies; but the whistling Winds and tottering Chambers, which made our Beds uneasy Cradles to us, caused us to flie from our rest at midnight, and with our bare (though washed) feet to seeke the dirty Yard for safer shelter. In the morning the Fryers of the Cloister who were acquainted with those winds and storms, laughed at our fearefulness, assuring us, that they never slept better then when their Beds were rocked with such like blasts. But that nights affrightment made us weary already of our good and kind entertainment; wee desired to remove from the Sea side; which our Superiour *Calvo* yielded to, not for our feare sake so much, as for his feare, lest with eating too much of the fruits of that Countrey, and drinking after them too greedily of the water (which causeth dangerous Fluxes, and hasteneth death to those that newly come from *Spain* to those parts) wee should fall sick, and die there, as hundreds did after our departure for want of temperance in the use of those fruits, which before they had never seen, or eaten. Thirty Mules were ready for us, which had bin brought a purpose from *Mexico*, and had waited for us in *St. John de Ulbua* six days before ever the Fleet arrived. *Calvo* that day busied himselfe a Ship board in sending to shore our Chests, and such Provision as had been left of Wines, and Bisket, Gammons of Bacon, and salted Beefe, where of there was some store, besides a dozen Hens and three Sheep, which was much wondred at, that so much should be left after to long a voyage. In the mean time we visited our friends and tooke our leaves of them in the forenoone; and after Dinner seats were prepared for us in the Cathedrall Church to sit and see a Comedy acted, which had beene on purpose studied and prepared by the Town for the entertainment of the new Viceroy of *Mexico*. Thus two daies onely we abode in *St. John de Ulbua*, and so departed.

CHAP. IX.

Of our journey from S^r. John de Ulhua to Mexico; and of the most remarkable Townes and Villages in the way.

PON the 14. day of September we left the Town and Port of S. John de Ulhua, entering into the rode to Mexico, which we found the first three or four leagues to bee very sandy, as wide and open as is our rode from London to S. Albans. The first *Indians* we met with, was at the old *Vera Cruz*, a Towne seated by the sea side, which the *Spaniards* that first conquered that countrey thought to have made their chief Harbour; but afterwards by reason of the small shelter they found in it for their ships against the North winds, they left it, and removed to S. John de Ulhua. Here we began to discover the power of the Priests and Fryers over the poore *Indians*, and their subjection and obedience unto them. The Prior of S. John de Ulhua had writ a letter unto them the day before of our passing that way, charging them to meet us in the way, and to welcome us into those parts; which was by the poor *Indians* gallantly performed; for two miles before we came to the Towne, there met us on Horseback some twenty of the chiefe of the Towne, presenting unto every one of us a nosegay of flowers; who rid before us a bow shot, till we met with more company on foot, to wit, the Trumpeters, the Waits; (who sounded pleasantly all the way before us) the Officers of the Church, such as here we call Church-wardens, though more in number, according to the many sodalities or confraternities of Saints whom they serve, these likewise presented to each of us a nosegay; next met us the singing men and boyes, all the *Quiristers*, who softly and leisurely walked before us singing, *Te Deum laudamus*, till we came to the midst of the Towne, where were two great Elmetrees, the chiefe Market place; there was set up one long arbour with green bowes, and a table ready furnished with boxes of conserves, and other sweet meates, and diet-bread, to prepare our stomacks for a cup of *Chocolatte*, which while it was seasoning with the hot water and Sugar, the chiefe *Indians* and Officers of the Towne made a speech unto us, having first kneeled downe and kissed our hands one by one; they welcomed us into their Countrey, calling us the Apostles of Jesus Christ, thanked us for that we had left our own Countrey, our friends, our fathers and mothers for to save their soules; they told us they honoured us as Gods upon earth; and many such complements they used till our *Chocolatte* was brought. We refreshed our selves for the space of one hour, and gave hearty thanks to the *Indians* for their kind respects unto us, assuring them that nothing was more deare unto us in this world then their soules, which that we might save, wee regarded not sea, nor land dangers, nor the unhumane cruelties of barbarous and savage *Indians*, (who as yet had no knowledge of the true God) no nor our owne lives.

And thus we took our leaves, giving unto the chief of them some Beads, some medall, some Crosses of brasse, some *Agnus Dei*, some reliques brought from *Spain*, and to every one of the Town an Indulgence of fourty years, (which the Pope had granted unto us, to bestow where and upon whom, and as often as wee would) wherewith we began to blind that simple people with ignorant, erroneous, and Popish principles. As we went out of arbour to take our Mules, behold the Market place was full of *Indian* men and women; who as they saw us ready to depart, kneeled upon the ground as adoring us for a blessing, which as we rid along, we bestowed upon them with lifted up hands on high, making over them the signe of the Crosse. And this submission of the poor *Indians* unto the Priests in those parts; this vain-glory in admitting such ceremonious entertainment and publike worship from them, did so puffe up some of our young Fryers hearts, that already they thought themselves better then the best Bishops in *Spain*, who though proud enough, yet never travail there with such publike acclamations as we did. The Waits and Trumpets sounded againe before us, and the chiefe of the Town conducted us a mile forward, and so tooke their leaves. The first two daies we lodged but in poore small *Indian* Townes, among whom we still found kind entertainment, and good store of provision, especially of Hens, Capons, Turkeys, and severall

rall sorts of fruits. The third day at night we came to a great Towne consisting of neere two thousand inhabitants, some *Spaniards*, some *Indians*, called *Xalappa de la Vera Cruz*. This Towne in the yeare 1634. was made a new Bishops Sea (the Bishoppick of the City, called *La Puebla de los Angeles* being divided into two) and this being not above the third part of it, is thought to be worth ten thousand duckats a year. It stands in a very fertile soile for *Indian* wheat called *Maize*, and some *Spanish* wheat. There are many Townes about it of *Indians*; but what makes it rich, are the many farmes of Sugar, and some which they call *Estantia's*, rich farmes for breeding of Mules, and cattell; and likewise some Farmes of *Cochinil*. In this Towne there is but one great Church and an inferiour Chappell, both belonging to a Cloister of Franciscan Friers, wherein we were lodged that night and the next day, being the Lords day. Though the revenues of this Cloister be great, yet it maintaines not above halfe a dozen Fryers, where twenty might be plentifully maintained, that so those few lubbers might be more abundantly, and like Epicures fed and nourished. The Superiour or Guardian of this Cloister was no lesse vaine then the Prior of *S. Iohn de Ulbus*; and though he were not of our profession, yet he welcomed us with stately entertainment. Here and wheresoever further we travailed, we still found in the Priests and Fryers loosenesse of life, and their waies and proceedings contrary to the waies of their profession, sworne to by a solemne Vow and Covenant. This Order especially of the mendicant Franciscan Fryers voweth (besides chastity and obedience) poverty more strictly to be observed, then any other Order of the *Romish* Church; for their Clothing ought to be coarse sackcloth, their girdles made of hemp should be no finer then strong halters, their shirts should be but woollen, their legs should know no stockings, their feet no shoes, but at the most and best either wooden clogs, or sandals of hemp, their hands and fingers should not so much as touch any money, nor they have the use or possession or propriety of any, nor their journeys be made easy with the help of Horses to carry them, but painfully they ought to travaile on foot; and the breach of any of these they acknowledge to be a deadly and mortall sinne, with the guilt of a high foul-damning and soul-cursing excommunication. Yet for all these bonds and obligations, those wretched Impes live in those parts as though they had never vowed unto the Lord, shewing in their lives that they have vowed what they are not able to performe. It was to us a strange and scandalous sight to see here in *Xalappa* a Fryer of the Cloister riding in with his lackey boy by his side, upon a goodly gelding, (having gone but to the Townes end, as we were informed, to heare a dying mans confession) with his long habit tucked up to his girdle, making shew of a fine silke orange colour stockin upon his legs, and a neate Cordovan shoe upon his foot, with a fine Holland paire of drawers, with a lace three inches broad at knee. This sight made us willing to pry further into this and the other Fryers carriages, under whose broad sleeves we could perceive their dublets quilted with silke, and at their wrists the laces of their Holland shirts. In their talke we could discerne no mortification, but meer vanity and wordlinesse. After supper some of them began to talk of carding and dicing; they challenged us, that were but new comers to those parts, to a *Primera*; which though most of ours refused, some for want of money, some for ignorance of that game, yet at last with much ado they got two of our Fryers to joyn with two of theirs, so the cards were handsomely shuffled, the vies and revies were doubled, losse made some hot & blind with passion, gain made others eager and covetous; and thus was that religious Cloister made all night a gaming house, and sworne religious poverty turned into profane and worldly covetousnesse. We that beheld some part of the night the game, found enough to observe, for the more the sport increased, scandalls to the sport were added, both by drinking and swearing that common oath *Voto a Christo, Voto a Dios*, and also by scoffing and jeering at the religious vows of poverty which they had vowed; for one of the Franciscans though formerly he had touched money, and with his fingers had laid it to the stake on the table; yet sometimes to make the company laugh, if he had chanced to winne a double vie (and sometimes the vies and revies went round of twenty patacons) then would he take the end of one sleeve of his habit, and open wide the other broad sleeve, and so with his sleeve sweep the money into his other sleeve, saying, I have vowed not to touch money, nor to keep any, I meant then a naturall contact of it; but my sleeve may touch it, and my sleeve may keep it: shewing with scoffes and jests of his lips, what religion was in his heart. My eares tingled with hearing

hearing such oaths, my tongue would have uttered some words of reproofe, but that I considered my self a guest and stranger in a strange house, and that if any thing I should say, it would doe no good; so silently I departed to my rest, leaving the Gamblers, who continued til Sun-rising, and in the morning I was informed that the jesting Fryer, that rather roaring Boy then religious Franciscan, fitter for *Sardapalus* or *Epicurus* his Schoole, then to live in a Cloister, had lost fourescore and odde Patience, his sleeve (it seemes) refusing to keep for him what hee had vowed never to possesse. Here I began to find out by experience of these Franciscans, that liberty and loosenesse of life it was that brought yearly so many Fryers and Jesuites from *Spain* to those parts, rather then zeale of Preaching the Gospel and Converting Soules to Christ, which indeed being an act of highest Charity, they make a speciall badge of the truth of their Religion: But the loosenesse of their lives sheweth evidently that the love of money, of vain-glory, of Power and Authority over the poore *Indians*, is their end and aime more then any love of God. From *Xalappa* we went to a place called by the *Spaniards*, *La Rinconada*, which is no Towne nor Village, and therefore not worth mentioning in such a Rode as now I am in; yet as famous in two things, it must not be omitted amongst greater places. This place stands so far from any other Town, that Travellers can scarce make their journeys without either baiting there at noone, or lying there at night, or declining three or foure miles out of the Rode to some *Indian* Town. It is no more then one house, which the *Spaniards* call, *Vinta*, or as our *English*, *Innes*, seated in the corner of a low Valley, which is the hottest place from *St. John de Ulbua* to *Mexico*; about it are the best Springs and Fountaines in all the Rode, and the water though warme with the heat of the Sun, yet as sweet as any Milk. The Inne-keeper knowing wel the *Spaniards* heat, that it seeks coole and refreshing drink, have speciall care so to lay in water in great earthen Vessels, which they set upon a moist and waterish Sand, that it is so cold that it maketh the teeth to chatter. This sweetnesse and this coolnesse together of that water in so hot and scorching a Country, was to us a wonder, who could find no other refreshment from that extraordinary heat. Besides our Provision here of Beefe, Mutton, Kid, Hens, Turkeys, Rabbits, Fowles, and especially Quails, was so plentifull and cheape, that wee were astonished at it. The Valley and Countrey about it is very rich and fertile, full of *Spanish* Farmes of Sugar, and *Cochinil*, *Spanish* and *Indian* Wheate. But what maketh mee more especially remember this *Vinta*, or Inne, is, for that though Art and experience of man have found a way to provide for Travellers in so hot a place coole and refreshing water, and God have given it the sweetnesse of Milk, and to the place such abundance of Provision, yet all this in the day only is comfortable and pleasant; but in the night the *Spaniards* call it, *Cumfites en infierno*, that is to say, Cumfites in hell, for not onely the heat is so extraordinary, that it is impossible to bee feeding without wiping away the continuall sweat of the Face, whose drops from the Browes are alwayes ready to blind our eyes and to fill with sauce our dishes, but the swarms of Gnats are such that waking and sleeping no device of man is able to keep them off. True it is, most of us had our Pavilions which wee carried (with us to hang about and over our beds, but these could not defend us from that piercing and stinging Vermine, which like *Egypt* Plague of Frogs would be sure to be in every place, and through our Curtaines to come upon our very Beds. Yet in the day they are not; but just at Sun setting they begin to swarm about, and at Sun rising away they goe. After a most tedious and troublesome night, when wee found the rising of the Sun had dispersed and banished them away, wee thought it best for us to flie away from that place with them; and so from thence early wee departed to a Towne as pleasant and fertile and abounding with Provision as this *Rinconada*, and free from such busie guests and individuall Mates and Companions as the night before had intruded themselves upon us. The next night wee got to a Towne called *Segura*, inhabited both by *Indians* and *Spaniards*, consisting of about a thousand Inhabitants; here again without any charges we were stately entertained by Franciscan Fryers, as light and vain glorious as those of *Xalappa*. This Town had its first beginning and foundation from *Hernando Cortez*, and is called *Segura de La Frontera*, being built up by him for a Frontier Town to secure the *Spaniards* that came from *St. John de Ulbua* to *Mexico*, against the *Culhuacans* and people of *Tepeacac*, who were allied to the *Mexicans*, and so much annoyed the *Spaniards*. But what most incensed *Cortez* was, that after his first repulse from *Mexico*, the *Indians* insulting over him and the rest of his Company, whom they heard had

beene dangerously wounded, and were retired to *Tlaxcallan* to recover and strengthen themselves; the two Townes, *Culhua* and *Tepeacas*, then in League with the *Mexicans* against *Cortez* and the Town of *Tlaxcallan*, lying in wait for the *Spaniards*, took twelve of them, and sacrificed them alive to their Idols and eat their flesh. Whereupon *Cortez* desired *Maxixca*, a chief Captain of *Tlaxcallan*, and divers other Gentlemen of that Towne to goe with him and to help him to bee avenged of the people of *Tepeacas* for the cruelty used to twelve of his *Spaniards*, and for the daily and great hurt they also did to the Inhabitants of *Tlaxcallan* with the helpe of their allied friends the *Culhuacans* and *Mexicans*. *Maxixca* and the chief of *Tlaxcallan* forthwith entred into counsell with the States and the Communitie of the Town, and there determined with generall consent to give unto him forty Thousand fighting Men, besides many *Tamemes*, who are Foot Carriers, to beare the Baggage, Vissually, and other things. With this number of *Tlaxcallan*'s, his owne men, and horses, *Cortez* went to *Tepeacas*, requiring them in satisfaction of the death of the twelve Christians, that they should now yeeld themselves to the obedience of the Emperour and King of *Spain* his Master, and hereafter never more to receive any *Mexican* into their Town or houses, neither yet any of the Province of *Culhua*. The *Tepeacas* answered that they had slain the *Spaniards* for good and just cause, which was that being time of Warre, they presumed to passe through their Countrey by force without their will and License. And also that the *Mexicans* and *Culhuacans* were their friends and Lords, whom alwayes they would friendly entertaine within their Towne and houses, refusing utterly their offer and request, protesting to give no obedience to whom they knew not, wishing them therefore to return incontinent to *Tlaxcallan*, except they had desire to end their weary days, and to be sacrificed and eaten up as their twelve friends had been. *Cortez* yet invited them many times with peace; and seeing it prevailed not, he began his Wars in earnest. The *Tepeacas* with the favour of the *Culhuacans* were brave and lusty, and began to stop and defend the *Spaniards* entrance into their Town. And being many in number with divers valiant men among them, began to skirmish sundry times; but at the end they were overthrown and many slain without killing any *Spaniard*, although many *Tlaxcallan*'s were killed that day. The Lords and principall Persons of *Tepeacas* seeing their overthrow, and that their strength could not prevaile, yeelded themselves unto *Cortez* for Vassals of the Emperour with condition to banish for ever their allied friends of *Culhua*; and that hee should punish and correct at his will and pleasure all those which were occasion of the death of the twelve *Spaniards*. For which causes and oblinacy, at the first *Cortez* judged by his sentence that all the Townes which had been privy to the murther, should for ever remain Captives and slaves; others affirm that he overcame them without any condition, and corrected them for their disobedience, being Sodomites, Idolaters and eaters of mans flesh, and chiefly for example of all others. And in conclusion, they were condemned for slaves, and within twenty daies that these Wars lasted, hee pacified all that Province, which is very great, hee drave from thence the *Culhuacans*, hee threw down the Idols, and the chiefest persons obeyed him. And for more assurance he built there this Town, naming it *Segura De la Frontera*, appointing all Officers for the purpose, whereby the Christians and strangers might passe without danger from *Vera Cruz* to *Mexico*. This Town likewise, as all the rest from *St. Iohn de Ulua* to *Mexico*, is very plentifull of provision, and many sorts of fruits, namely Plantains, *Sapotes*, and *Chicofapotes*, which have within a great black kernell as big as our horse Plum, the fruit it self is as red within as Scarlet, as sweet as Honey; but the *Chicofapote*, is lesse and some of them red, some browne coloured, and so juicy that at the eating the juyce like drops of Honey fall from them, and the smell is like unto a baked Pear. Here likewise were presented unto us Clusters of Grapes as faire as any in *Spain*, which were welcome unto us, for that wee had seen none since we came from *Spain*, and wee saw by them that the Countrey thereabouts would be very fit for Vineyards, if the King of *Spain* would grant the planting of Vines in those parts; which often hee hath refused to doe, lest the Vineyards there should hinder the Trading and Trafique between *Spain* and those parts, which certainly had they but Wine, needed not any commerce with *Spain*. This Towne is of a more temperate Climate than any other from *Vera Cruz* to *Mexico*, and the people who formerly had been eaters of Mans flesh, now as civill and politick, as loving and courteous as any

any in the rode. From whence we declined a little out of our way more Westward (the rode being North-Westward) only to see that famous Towne of *Tlaxcallan*, whose inhabitants joyned with *Cortez*, and wee may say were the chiefe instruments of that great and unparalleld Conquest.

CHAP. X.

Wherein is set downe the estate and condition of the great Towne of Tlaxcallan, when the first Spaniards entred the Empire of Mexico; Cortez his first encounter with the Tlaxcalteca's; their league with him, with a description of the Towne, and of the state and condition of it now.

Tlaxcallan being worth all the rest of the Townes and Villages between *S. John d. Ulmus* and *Mexico*; I thought it not fit to parallell it with the others in naming it byiesely and passing by it as a Traveller; but rather I judged it convenient, and becomming my present History, to record to posterity with one whole Chapter, the greatnesse of it, and the valour of its inhabitants, from the conquest of *America* made by *Hernando Cortez*. Who being upon his march to *Mexico*, and having arrived to *Zaclotan*, and being informed that the *Tlaxcalteca's* were men of valour, and enemies to *Montezuma* the Emperour of *Meixco*, thought it his best policy to joyne with them against the *Mexicans*.

Whereupon hee dispatched unto them foure *Indians* of a Towne called *Zempoallan*, as Ambassadors to acquaint them of his coming into these parts, and of his desire to visit their Towne, not for any harme he intended to them, but rather for their good. The *Tlaxcalteca's* fearing *Cortez*, and judging him a friend of *Montezuma*, because upon his way to visit him, and having heard of the many costly presents which the Emperour had sent unto him, they resolved to resist his coming, and to send him no answer to his ambassage; but tooke the four Messengers which he had sent, and imprisoned them, minding to sacrifice them unto their Gods as Espies. *Cortez* seeing the long tarrying of the Messengers, departed from *Zaclotan*, without any intelligence from *Tlaxcallan*. His camp had not marched much after their departure from that place, but they came to a great circuit of stone made without lime or mortar, being of a sadome and a halfe high, and twenty foot broad, with loupe holes to shoot at; this wall crossed over a whole valley, from one mountain to another, and but one only entrance or gate, in the which the one wall doubled against the other, and the way there was forty paces broad, in such sort that it was an evil and perillous passage, if any had been there to defend it. *Cortez* demanded the cause of that circuit, and who had built it; the *Indians* that went with him, told him that it was but a division from their countrey and *Tlaxcallan*, and that their Antecessors had made the same to disturbe the entrance of the *Tlaxcalteca's* in time of warre, who came to rob and murder them because of the friendship betwixt them and *Montezuma*, whose vassals they were. That strange and costly wall seemed a thing of great majesty to the *Spaniards*, and more superfluous then profitable, yet they suspected that the *Tlaxcalteca's* were valiant warriors, who had such defence made against them. But *Cortez* setting all fear aside, with three hundred Souldiers on a ranke, entred the way in the wall, and proceeded in good order all the way forwards, carrying the Ordnance ready charged, and he himselfe the Leader of all his Army, and sometimes he would be halfe a league before them, to discover and make the way plain. And having gone the space of three leagues from that circuit, he commanded his Foot-men to make haste, because it was somewhat late, and he with his Horse-men went to descry the way forwards, who ascending up a hill, two of the foremost Horse-men met with fifteen *Indians* armed with swords, and targets, and tusses of feathers, which they used to weare in the warres. These fifteen being Spies, when they saw the Horse-men, began to flie with fear, or else to give advice. But *Cortez* approaching with other three Horsemen called to them to stay; which they by no means would hearken unto; till six more Horse-men ran after them, and overtook them. The *Indians* then joyning all together with determination rather to die then to yeld, shewed to the *Spaniards* signes to stand still. But the Horsemen coming to

lay hands on them; they prepared themselves to battell, and fought, defending themselves for a while. In this fight the *Indians* slew two of their Horses, and (as the *Spaniards* do witness) at two blowes they cut off a Horse head, bridle and all. Then came the rest of the Horsemen, the Army also of the *Indians* approached, for there were in fight neer five thousand of them in good order, to succour their fifteen fighting men; but they came too late for that purpose, for they were all slain by the *Spanish* fury, because they would not render themselves in time, and had killed two of their Horses. Yet notwithstanding their fellows fought, until they espied the *Spanish* Army coming, and the Ordnance, then they returned leaving the field to the *Spaniards*, whose Horse-men followed them, and slew about seventy of them, without receiving any hurt. With this the *Indians* perceiving the great advantage which the *Spaniards* had against them with their Horses, and meaning to come upon them subtilly with a more powerful Army, that they might the better deceive and delude them, they sent unto Cortez two of the four Messengers which had been sent unto them with other *Indians*, saying, that they of *Tlaxcallan* knew nothing of the things that had happened, certifying likewise that those with whom he had fought, were of other communities, and not of their jurisdiction, being sorrowfull for that which had passed, and for so much as it happened in their country, they would willingly pay for the two Horses which were slain, praying them to come in good time to their Towne, who would gladly receive them, and enter into their league of friendship, because they seemed to be valiant men; But all this was a feigned and a false message. Yet Cortez beleved them, and gave them thanks for their courtesie and good will; and that according to their request he would goe unto their Towne, and accept their friendship. And touching the death of his Horses, hee required nothing, for that within short time he expected many more; yet sorrowfull he was not so much for the want of them, as that the *Indians* should thinke that Horses could die or be slain. Cortez proceeded forwards about two leagues, where the Horses were killed, although it was almost sun set, and his men wearied, having travelled far that day. He planted his Army by a river side, remaining all that night with good watch both of Foot-men and Horse-men, fearing some assault; but there was no attempt given that night. The next morning at sun rising, Cortez departed with his Army in good order, and in the midst of them went the Fardage and Artillerie, and after a little marching they met with the other two Messengers whom they had sent from *Zacotlan*; they came with pitifull cries exclaiming of the Captaines of the power of *Tlaxcallan*, who had bound them and detained them from returning; but with good fortune that night they had broken loose, and escaped, for otherwise in the morning following they had been sacrificed to the God of Victory, and after the sacrifice they had been eaten for a good beginning of the warres; the *Tlaxcaltecas* protesting to doe the like to the bearded men (for so they termed the *Spaniards*) and to as many as came with them. They had no sooner told their tale, when there appeared behind a little hill about a thousand *Indians*, very well appointed after their fashion, and came with such a marvellous noise and cry, as though their voyces should have pierced the heavens; hurling at the *Spaniards*, stones, darts, and shot with bowes and arrows. Cortez made many tokens of peace unto them, and by his Interpreters desired them to leave the battail. But so much the more as he intreated for peace, the more hasty and earnest were they, thinking either to overcome them, or else to hold them play, to the intent that the *Spaniards* should follow them to a certaine ambush that was prepared for them, of more then fourescore thousand men. Here the *Spaniards* began to cease from words, and to lay hand upon their weapons; for that company of a thousand were as many as on the *Spaniards* side were fighting men; though they were well practised in the warres, very valiant, and also pitched in a better place for fight. This battail endured certaine houres, and at the end the *Indians* being either wearied, or else meaning to take the *Spaniards* in the snare appointed, began to flie towards the main battail, not as overcome, but to joine with their own side. The *Spaniards* being hot in the fight and slaughter, which was not little, followed them with all their fardage, and unawares fell into the ambush, among an infinite number of *Indians* armed; they stayd not, because they would not put themselves out of order, and passed through their campe with great haste and fear. The *Indians* began to set upon the *Spanish* Horsemen, thinking to have taken their lances from them, their courage was so stout; many of the *Spaniards* had there perished, had it not been for their *Indian* friends, who had

had come with them from *Zempoallan* and *Zacatlan*. Likewise the courage of *Cortez* did much animate them; for although hee led his Army making way, yet divers times hee turned him back to place his men in order, and to comfort them, and at length came out of that dangerous way and ambush, where the *Horses* might help, and the Ordnance stand in head, which two things did greatly annoy the *Indians* to their great wonder and marvell, and at the sight thereof began to flie. In both incoun- ters remained many *Indians* slain and wounded, and of the *Spaniards* some were hurt, but none killed, who gave most hearty thanks unto God for their delivery from so great a multitude as were foure score thousand against one thousand onely of *Indians* and *Spaniards* joyned together. The *Indians* of *Zempoallan* and *Zacatlan* did play the va- liant men that day, wherefore *Cortez* honoured them with hearty thanks. Then they went to pitch their Campe in a village called *Tecoximco*, where was a little Tower and a Temple, and there fortified themselves. The night following the *Spaniards* slept not quiet- ly with fear of a third Invasion of the *Tlaxcaltecs*. As soone as it was day *Cortez* sent to the Captains of *Tlaxcallan* to require them of Peace and Friendship, willing them quiet- ly to suffer them to passe through their Countrey to *Mexico*, for that they meant them no hurt, but rather good wil. The answer of the captains of *Tlaxcallan* was, that the next day they would come and talke with him and declare their minds. *Cortez* was well pre- pared that night, for the answer liked him not, but rather seemed brave, and a mat- ter determined to be done, as some had told him (whom hee tooke prisoners) who likewise certified that the *Tlaxcaltecs* were joyned together, to the number of a hun- dred and fifty thousand men to give battaile the next day following, and to swallow up alive the *Spaniards* whom so mortally they did hate, thinking them to bee friends unto the Emperour *Montezuma*, unto whom they wished all evill and mischief. Their intent was therefore with all their whole power to apprehend the bearded men, and to make of them a more solemne Sacrifice unto their Gods then at any time they had done, with a generall banquet of their flesh, which they called *Celissiall*.

The Captains of *Tlaxcallan* divided their Souldiers into foure Battailles, the one to *Tepeitpac*, another to *Ocutulco*, the third to *Tizatlan*, and the fourth to *Quiahuiz- tlan*, that is to say, the men of the Mountaines, the men of the Limepits, the men of the Pinetrees, and the Water men; all these foure sorts of men did make the Body of the Common-wealth of *Tlaxcallan*, and commanded both in time of War and Peace. Every of these Captaines had his just portion or number of Warri-ers, but the Generall of all the whole Army was called *Xicotencal*, who was of the Limepits; and hee had the Standard of the Common-wealth, which is a Crane of gold with his wings spread, adorned with Emeralds and silver worke, which Standard was according to their use either carryed before the whole Host, or else behind them all. The Lieutenant Generall of the Army was *Maxicazin*; and the number of the whole Army was a hundred and fifty Thousand men. Such a great number they had ready against foure hundred *Spaniards*, and seven hundred *Indians* of *Zempoallan* and *Zacatlan*, and yet at length overcome; and after this fight they were the greatest friends that *Cortez* had in those parts against *Montezuma*. These Captaines came with their Companies, that the fields wher they were seemed a Forrest. They were gallant Fellowes and well Armed according to their use, although they were painted, so that their faces shewed like Devils, with great tuftes of Feathers, and they boasted gallantly. Their Weapons and Armour were Slings, Staves, Spears, Swords, Bowes and Arrows, Sculles, Splintes, Gantlets, all of Wood, quilt or else covered with Feathers or Lea- ther; their Corselets were made of Cotton Wooll, their Targets and Bucklers gallant and strong, made of wood covered with leather and trimmed with lat- ten, and feathers, their Swords were staves with an edge of flint stone cunningly joyned into the stasse, which would cut very well and make a fore wound. Their in- struments of War were hunters hornes, and Drummes called *Ataballs* made like a Cal- dron and covered with Vellam. So that the *Spaniards* in all their discovery of *India* did never see a better Army together, nor better ordered; that which I could not o- mit to speake of here, having come in the order of my history to *Tlaxcallan*, where this numerous and gallant *Indian* Army was set forth against 400 *Spaniards* and 600 *Indians* their friends. These *Indians* thus ordered in Battalia bragged very much a- gainst the *Spaniards*, and said amongst themselves, What mad people are these beard- ed men that threaten us and yet know us not? But if they will bee so bold to invade

our Countrey without our licence, let us not set upon them so soone, it is meet they have a little rest, for wee have time enough to take and bind them; let us also send them meat, for they are come with empty stomacks, and so they shall not *say* that we do apprehend them with wearinesse and hunger. Whereupon they sent unto the *Spaniards* three hundred Turkey cocks and two hundred baskets of bread, called *Centli*; the which present was a great succour and refreshment for the need the *Spaniards* stood in. And soone after, Now (say they) let us goe and sit upon them, for by this time they have eaten their meat, and now we will eat them, and so shall they pay us the victuals that we sent. These & such like brags they used, seeing so few *Spaniards* before them, and not knowing the strength of their Ordnance against their so numerous an host. Then the foure Captaines sent two thousand of their valiantest men of warre, and old Souldiers, to take the *Spaniards* quietly, with commandement that if they did resist, either to binde them, or else to kill them, meaning not to set their whole Army upon them, saying, that they should get but small honour for so great a multitude to fight against so few. The two thousand Souldiers passed the trench that was betwixt the two camps, and came boldly to the Tower where the *Spaniards* were. Then came forth the Horse-men, and after them the Foot-men, and at the first encounter, they made the *Indians* feeble how the iron swords would cut, at the second, they shewed of what force those few in number were, of whom a little before they had so jelted: but at the third brunt, they made those lusty Souldiers flie, who were come to apprehend them, for none of them escaped, but only a few such as knew the passage of the trenches or ditch. Then the main battail and whole Army set forth with a terrible and marvellous noise, and came so fierce upon the *Spaniards*, till they entred into their campe without any resistance, and there were at handy strokes with the *Spaniards*, and in a good space could not get them out, many of them being killed, which were so bold to enter. In this sort they fought four houres, before they could make way among their enemies. Then the *Indians* began to faint, seeing so many dead on their side, and the great wounds they had, and that they could kill none of the Christians; yet the battail ceased not, till it drew neere night, and then they retired. Whereof *Cortez* and his Souldiers were exceeding glad, for they were fully wearied with killing of *Indians*. The next day in the morning *Cortez* went forth to runne the fields as he had done before, leaving halfe his men to keepe the campe; and because he should not be espied, he departed before day, and burned about ten Townes, and sacked one Towne, which was of three thousand houses, in the which were found but few people, because the most of them were gone to their campe. After the spoile he set fire on the Town, and came his way to his campe with a great prey by noone time. The *Indians* pursued thinking to take away their prey, and followed them into the camp, where they fought five houres, and could not kill one *Spaniard*, although many of their side were slain; for even as they were many, and stood on a throng together, the Ordnance made a wonderfull spoil among them, so that they left off fighting, and the victory remained for the *Spaniards*, whom the *Indians* thought were enchanted, because their arrowes could not hurt them. The next day following, the four Captaines sent three severall things in present to *Cortez*, and the messengers that brought them said. Sir, behold here five slaves, and if thou be that rigorouse God that eatest mans flesh and blood, eat these which we bring unto thee, and we will bring thee more. And if thou be the gentle and meek God, behold here frankincense and feathers. And if thou bee a mortall man, take here fowle, bread and cherries. *Cortez* answered that both he and his were mortall men even as they were. And because that alwaies he had used to tell them truth, wherefore did they use to tell him lies, and likewise to flatter him, for he desired to be their friend, advising them not to be mad and stubborn in their opinion, for if they so did, assuredly they should receive great hurt and damage.

Notwithstanding this answer, there came againe about thirty thousand of them even to *Cortez* his campe, to prove their corslets, as they had done the day before, but they returned with broken pates. Here is to be noted that although the first day the whole host of *Indians* came to combat with the *Spaniards*, yet the next day they did not so, but every severall Captaine by himselfe, for to divide the better the travaile and paines equally among them; and because that one should not disturbe another through the multitude, considering that they should fight but with a few, and in a narrow place; and for this consideration their battails were more fresh and strong, for each

each Captain did contend who should doe most valiantly for to get honour, and especially in killing one *Spaniard*, for they thought that all their hurts should be satisfied with the death of one *Spaniard*, or taking one prisoner. Likewise is to be considered the strangeness of their battail, for notwithstanding their controverſie fifteen daies that they were there, whether they fought or no, they ſent unto the *Spaniards* cakes of bread, Turkey cocks and cherries. But this policy was not to give them that meat for good will, but onely to eſpie and ſee what hurt was done amongst them, and alſo to ſee what feare or ſtomack they had to proceed. But finding by their many ſpies that the *Spaniards* were nothing daunted nor diminifhed, they reſolved to ſend unto *Cortez*, *Xicotencatl*, who was chiefe and generall Captain in *Tlaxcallan*, and of all the warres; he brought in his company fifty perſons of authority to keep him company. They approached neer where *Cortez* was, and ſaluted each other according to the uſe of their country. Their ſalutations ended, and the parties being ſet downe, *Xicotencatl* began the talke, ſaying. Sir, I am come on mine owne behalfe and alſo of my fellow Captain and Lieutenant *Maxicca*, and in the name of many other noble perſonages, and finally in the name of the whole State and Common-wealth of *Tlaxcallan*, to beſeech and pray you to admit us into your frienſhip, and to yeeld our ſelves and country unto your King, craving alſo at your hand pardon for our attempt in taking up armes againſt you, wee not knowing what you were, nor what you fought for in our country. And where we preſumed to reſiſt and defend your entrance, wee did it as againſt ſtrangers whom we knew not, and ſuch men as we had never heretofore ſeen; and fearing alſo that you had been friends to *Montezuma*, who is, and alwaies hath been our mortall enemy. And we had rather all in generall to end our lives, then to put our ſelves in ſubjection to him; for we thinke our ſelves as valiant men in courage as our fore-fathers were, who alwaies have reſiſted againſt him and his grand-father, who was as mighty as now is he. We would alſo have withſtood you and your force, but we could not, although we proved all our poſſibility by night and day, and found your ſtrength invincible, and we no lucke againſt you. Therefore ſince our fate is ſuch, we had rather be ſubject unto you then unto any others, for wee have knowne and heard by the *Zempallamexes*, that you doe no evill, nor came not to vexe any, but were moſt valiant and happy, as they have ſeen in the warres, being in your company. For which conſideration, we truſt that our liberty ſhall not be diminifhed, but rather our own perſons, wives and families better preſerved, and our houſes and husbandry not deſtroyed. And in ſome of his talke, the tears trickling down his cheeks, he beſought *Cortez* to weigh that *Tlaxcallan* did never at any time acknowledge any ſuperiour Lord or King, nor at any time had come any perſon among them to command, but only he, whom now they did voluntarily elect and chooſe as their Superiour and Ruler. *Cortez* much rejoiced with this ambaffage, and to ſee ſuch a mighty Capitaine, who commanded a hundred and fifty thouſand Souldiers, come unto his camp to ſubmit himſelfe, judging it alſo matter of great weight to have that Common-wealth in ſubjection, for the enterpriſe which he had in hand, whereby he fully made an account, that the wars were at an end, to the great contentation of him and his company, and with great ſame and reputation among the *Indians*. So with a merry and loving countenance he answered, laying firſt to their charge, the hurt and damage which he had received in their country, becauſe they reſuſed at the firſt to hearken unto him, and quietly to ſuffer him to enter into their country, as he had required and deſired by his meſſengers ſent unto them from *Zacatlan*. Yet all this notwithstanding he did both pardon the killing of his two Horſes, the aſſaulting of him in the high way, and the lies which they had moſt craftily uſed with him, (for whereas they themſelves fought againſt him, yet they laid the fault to others) likewise their pretence to murder him in the ambuſh prepared for him (enticing him to come to their Towne) without making firſt defiance according to the law of Arms. Yet theſe injuries notwithstanding, he did lovingly receive their offer made in ſubjection to the Emperour, and that very ſhortly he would be with him in *Tlaxcallan*. At this ſame time there were Ambaſſadours from *Montezuma* with *Cortez*, who grieved much to ſee the League that was now beginning between the *Tlaxcaltecas* and the *Spaniards*; they adviſed *Cortez* to give no credit unto them, ſaying, they meant nothing but treaſon, and lies, and to lock them up in *Tlaxcallan*. *Cortez* answered the Ambaſſadours, that although their advice were true, yet he did determine to goe thither, for that he feared them leſſe in the Towne then in


the field. They hearing this answer and determination, besought him to give unto one of them licence to returne unto *Mexico*, to advertise *Montezuma* of all that was past, with an answer to their ambassage, promising within six dayes to have newes from *Mexico*, and till then prayed him not to depart with his campe. Cortez granted their request, and abode there the time appointed, expecting their answer, and within himselfe rejoycing to see how the *Mexicans* began to feare, that his peace with the *Tlaxcalteca's* would be their ruine and destruction, as indeed afterwards it proved. In this mean season came many of *Tlaxcallan* to the campe, some brought Turkey cockes, other brought bread and cherries, with merry countenances, desiring them to goe home with them unto their houses. The sixt day the *Mexican* Ambassadour came according to promise, and brought unto Cortez ten jewels of gold, both rich and well wrought, and fifteen thousand garments of Cotton exceeding gallant, and most earnestly besought him on the behalfe of *Montezuma*, that he should not danger himselfe in trusting to the words of the *Tlaxcalteca's*, who were so poore that with necessity they would rob him of the things and presents which his Master had sent him, yea and likewise murder him, knowing of the friendship between his Master and him. At the very same time all the chiefe Lords of *Tlaxcallan* came to intreat him to goe with them to *Tlaxcallan*, where he should be cherished, lodged and well provided: for it was a great dishonour and shame unto them to permit such personages to abide in such vile cottages, as they were in. And if (said they) you trust us not, then we are ready to give you for your security whatsoever pledges or gages you shall demand. And they did both wear and faithfully promise that they might safely goe with them, saying also that the Oath and Faith of their Common-wealth should never be broken for all the goods in the world. Thus was Cortez on both sides earnestly solicited, and intreated; the *Mexicans* fearing his League and friendship with the *Tlaxcalteca's*, and these hoping that his friendship with them would be their chiefe protection against the tyranny of *Montezuma*. But Cortez aiming chiefly at the Empire of *Mexico*, which *Montezuma* his dissembled friendship would never helpe him to enjoy; and seeing the good will of so many gentlemen his new friends of *Tlaxcallan*, the most mortall enemies of *Montezuma*, and likewise the *Indians* of *Zempoallan*, of whom he had good credit, did so importune him, and assure him of his going, he commanded his Fardage to be laden, and also his Ordnance, and departed toward *Tlaxcallan*, with as good order as it had been to a battail; and at the Tower where he had pitched his camp, he left certain crosses for a memory with a great heape of stones (which till this day remain in the place, and my selfe have seen them) and entred into *Tlaxcallan* the eighteenth of September. There came out such a multitude of people to see him and to meet him in the way, that it was a wonder to see. He was lodged in the greatest Temple, which had many great and fair lodgings sufficient for him and all his company, except the *Indians* of *Zempoallan* and *Zacotlan* his friends, who were lodged in other Temples. He set certaine limits, out of the which he commanded straitly that none of his company should passe upon pain of death, and also commanded that they should take nothing, but what should be given them. His commandement was well observed, for none presumed to goe a stones cast without his licence. The *Indian* gentlemen shewed great pleasure and curtesie to the strangers, and provided them of all things necessary, and many of them gave their daughters unto them in token of true friendship, and likewise to have fruit of their bodies, to be brought up for the wars, being such valiant men. Cortez being thoroughly satisfied of their hearty good wills, demanded of them the estate and riches of *Montezuma*. They exalted him greatly as men that had proved his force. And as they affirmed it was neer a hundred yeers, that they maintained warres with him and his father *Axaca*, and others his uncles and grand-fathers; they assured him also that the gold and treasure of *Montezuma* was without number, and his power and dominion over all the land, and his people innumerable; for (said they) he joyneth sometimes two hundred thousand men, yea and three hundred thousand for one battail. And if it pleased him, he would make as many men double, and thereof they were good witnesse, because they had many times fought with them. Cortez told them he was nothing discouraged at all that his power, but intended a journey to *Mexico*, not doubting to oppose *Montezuma*, if hee should encounter him in the way. He promised them likewise that he would free them from his tyranny, and subdue in his way all those Townes which were allied to the *Mexi-*

cans, and did any way annoy them and their Common-wealth. They gave him hearty thanks, assuring him to assist him and accompany him to *Mexico*; and for the present offered him twenty thousand men, making a solemn League and Covenant never to forsake him. Thus was *Tlaxcallan* subdued and sworn to the power and command of the *Spaniards*, being in those times one of the chiefest, though not richest, Townes in *America*; whose Inhabitants after clave most faithfully to *Cortes*, and were chief instruments for the subduing of *Mexico*; and therefore to this day are freed from tribute by the Kings of *Spain*, paying not the money which as a tribute tax is layed upon every *Indian* to bee payed yeerely, but only in acknowledgement of subjection they pay yeerely one corne of *Maiz*, which is their *Indian* Wheat. This great Towne of *Tlaxcallan* is properly in the *Indian* tongue as much as to say, as bread well backed, for there is more Graine called *Cenili* gathered, then in all the Province round about. In times past the Towne was called *Texcallan*, that is to say, a Valley betwixt two hills. It is planted by a River side, which springeth out of a hill called *Atlantepetec*, and watereth the most part of the Province, and from thence issueth out into the South Sea, by *Zacatullan*. This Town hath foure goodly streets, which are called *Tepetipac*, *Ocotulco*, *Tizatlan*, *Quiahniztlan*. The first street standeth on high upon a hill, farre from the River which may be about half a League, and because it standeth on a hill, it is called *Tepetipac*, that is to say, a hill, and was the first population, which was founded there on high because of the Wars. An other street is situated on the hill side towards the River; because at the building thereof, there were many Pine trees, they named it *Ocotulco*, which is to say, A pine apple plot. This street was beautifull, and most inhabited of all the Town, and there was the chiefest Market place, where all the buying and selling was used, and that place they called *Tianquiztli*; in that street was the dwelling house of *Maxicca*. Along the River side in the plaine standeth another street called *Tizatlan*, because there is much Lime and Chalke. In this street dwelled *Xicotencatl*, Captaine Generall of the whole Common-wealth. There is another street named by reason of the brackish water, *Quiahniztlan*; but since the *Spaniards* came thither, all those buildings are almost altered, after a better fashion, and built with stone. In the plain by the riverside standeth the Town house, & other Offices, as in the City of *Venice*. This *Tlaxcallan* was governed by Noble and rich men; they used not that one alone should rule, but did rather flie from that Government as from tyranny, and therefore hated *Montezuma* as a tyrant. In their Wars (as I have said before) they had foure Captaines, which governed each one street, of the which foure they did elect a Captaine Generall. Also there were other Gentlemen, that were Under-Captaines, but a small number. In the Wars they used their Standard to bee carried behind the Army, but when the battaile was to be sought, they placed the Standard, where all the Host might see it, & he that came not in continent to his Ancient, payed a penalty. Their Standard had two Crosse-bow Arrowes set thereon, which they esteemed, as the Reliques of their Ancestours. This Standard two old Souldies and valiant men, being of the chiefest Captaines, had the charge to carry, in the which an abuse of soothsaying either of losse or victory was noted. In this order they shot one of these Arrowes against the first enemies that they met, and if with that Arrow they did either kill or hurt, it was a token that they should have the victory, and if it neither did kil nor hurt, then they assuredly believed that they should lose the field. This Province or Lordship of *Tlaxcallan* had 28. Villages and Townes, wherein were contained 150000 householders. They are men well made, and were good Warriors, the like were not among the *Indians*. They are very poore, and have no other riches, but onely the Graine and Corne called *Cenili*, and with the gain and profit thereof, they doe both clothe themselves, and provide all other necessities. They have many Market places, but the greatest and most used daily, standeth in the street of *Ocotulco*, which formerly was so famous, that 20000. persons came thither in one day to buy and sell, changing one thing for another, for they knew not what money meant. They have now and had formerly all kind of good policy in the Town; there are Goldsmiths, Featherdressers, Barbers, hot houses, and Potters, who make as good earthen Vessel, as is made in *Spain*. The earth is fat and fruitfull for Corne, fruit, and Pasture, for among the Pinetrees groweth so much grasse, that the *Spaniards* feed their Cattell there, which in *Spain* they cannot doe. Within two Leagues of the Town standeth a round hill

of six miles of heighth, and five and forty miles in compasse, and is now called *St. Bartholomewes hill*, where the snow freezeth. In times past they called that hill *Matealcucie*, who was their God for water. They had also a God for Wine, who was named *Ometochtli*, for the great drunkenesse which they used. Their chiefeft God was called *Camaxtli*; and by another name *Mixcoatl*, whose Temple stood in the street of *Ocotulco*, in the which Temple there was sacriced some yeeres above eight hundred persons. In the Towne they speak three languages, that is to say, *Nahuatl*, which is the courtly speech, and chiefeft in all the land of *Mexico*; another is called *Otomir*, which is most commonly used in the Villages; There is one onely street that speaketh *Pinomer*, which is the grosseft speech. There was also formerly in the Town a common Jayle, where Felons lay in Irons, and all things which they held for sinne, were there corrected. At the time that *Cortez* was there it happened that a townfman stole from a *Spaniard* a little gold; whereof *Cortez* complained to *Maximica*, who in continent made such enquiry, that the offender was found in *Cholulla*, which is another great Town five Leagues from thence; they brought the prisoner with the gold, and delivered him to *Cortez*, to doe with him his pleasure. *Cortez* would not accept him, but gave him thanks for his diligence; then was hee carried with a cryer before him, manifesting his offence, and in the Market place upon a Scaffold they brake his joynts with a cudgell: the *Spaniards* marvelled to see such strange justice, and began to bee more confident that as in this point they had endeavoured to pleasure and right them, so likewise they should afterwards find them very forward to doe their wills and pleasures for the better conquering of *Mexico* and *Montezuma*. *Ocotulco* and *Tizatlan*, are the two streets which now are most inhabited; In *Ocotulco* standeth a Cloister of Franciscan Fryers who are the Preachers of that Town; they have there joyning to their Cloister a very faire Church, to which belong some fifty *Indians* singers, Organists, players on Muscicall Instruments, Trumpeters and Waits, who set out the Masse with a very sweet and harmonious Musick, and delight the fancy and senses, while the spirit is sad and dull as little acquainted with God, who will bee worshipped in spirit and in truth. In *Tepeticpac* and *Quibwitzlan* are two Chappels onely, to which on the Lords Day, and upon other occasions the Fryers of the Cloister resort to say Masse. In this Cloister wee were entertained a day and two nights with great Provision of Fleh and Fish, which is very plentifull by reason of the River; The Fryers are allowed by the Town a dozen *Indians* who are free from other services onely to fish for the Fryers. They change their turnes by Weekes, foure one Weeke and foure another, except they be called upon for some speciall occasion, and then they leave all other worke, and attend onely with fish upon the Fryers. The Town now is inhabited by *Spaniards* and *Indians* together; and is the seat of a chief Officer of Justice sent from *Spain* every three yeares, called *Alcalde Major*, whose power reacheth to all the Townes within twenty Leagues about. Besides him the *Indians* have likewise among themselves, *Alcaldes*, *Regidores* and *Aguaziles*, superiour and inferiour Officers of Justice appointed yeerely by the *Alcalde Major*, who keeps them all in awe, and takes from them for his service as many as hee pleaseth without paying any thing for the service done unto him. The hard usage of this *Alcalde Major* and other *Spaniards* hath much decayed that populous Town, which should rather have been cherished, then disheartned by the *Spaniards*, who by meanes of it gained all the rest of the Country.

CHAP. XI.

Concluding the rest of our journey from *Thlaxcallan* to *Mexico*, through the City of *Angels*, and *Guacocingo*.

 HE next place most remarkable in the Rode wherein wee travelled was the City called by the *Spaniards*, *La Puebla de los Angeles*, the City of *Angels*. To the which wee were desirous to goe, knowing that in it there was a Convent of *Dominicans* of our profession, not having met with any such since the day we departed from *St. John de Ulua*. Here wee refreshed our selves at leasure three dayes, finding our selves very welcome to our owne Brethren, who spared nothing that

was fit for our entertainment. Wee visited all the City, and tooke large notice of it, judging of the wealth and riches of it not only by the great Trading in it, but by the many Cloisters both of Nuns and Fryers, which it maintaineth, such being commonly very burthenfome to the places where they live, an idle kind of beggers who make the people believe the maintaining of them is meritorious and saving to their Soules; and that their prayers for them is more worth then the meanes and sustenance which they receive from them. Of these there is in that City a very great Cloister of some fifty or threescore Dominicans; another of more Franciscans, another of Augustins, another of Mercinarians, another of discalced Carmelites, another of Jesueits, besides foure of Nuns. This City is seated in a low and pleasant Valley, about ten leagues from a very high Mountaine, which is alwayes covered with snow; It standeth twenty leagues from Mexico, it was first built and inhabited in the yeare 1530. by the command of *Don Antonio de Mendoza* Vi'eroy of Mexico, together with the consent of *Sebastian Ramirez* who was a Bishop, and had been President in time past in *Sto Domingo*, and was that yeare in stead of *Nunzio de Guzman* (who had behaved himselfe very evil both with the *Indians* and *Spaniards*) sent to bee President of the Chancery of Mexico with these other foure Judges the Licenciates *Johan de Salmeron*, *Gasco Quiruga*, *Francisco Ceynos*, and *Alonso Maldonado*. These Judges governed the land farre better then *Nunzio de Guzman* before them had done; and among other remarkable things they did, was to cause this City to bee inhabited, and set at liberty the *Indians* who inhabited there before, and were grievously suppressed and inflaved by the *Spaniards*, and therefore many of them departed from thence, who had inhabited there before, and went to seeke their living at *Xalisco*, *Huandaras*, *Guatemala* and other places, where Warre then was. This City was formerly called by the *Indians* *Cueltaxcoapan*, that is to say, a Snake in water; the reason was, because there are two Fountaines, the one of evil water, and the other of good. This City is now a Bishops Sea, whose yeerely Revenues since the cutting off from it *Xalappa De la Vera Cruz*, are yet worth above twenty thousand Duckats; By reason of the good and wholesome aire it daily increaseth with Inhabitants, who resort from many other places to live there; but especially the yeare 1634. when Mexico was like to bee drowned with the inundation of the lake, thousands left it, and came with all their goods and Families to this City of the *Angels*, which now is thought to consist of ten thousand Inhabitants. That which maketh it most famous is the Cloth which is made in it, and is sent farre and neere, and judged now to bee as good as the Cloth of *Segovia*, which is the best that is made in *Spain*, but now is not so much esteemed of, nor sent so much from *Spain* to *America* by reason of the abundance of fine Cloth which is made in this City of *Angels*. The Felts likewise that are made, are the best of all that Country; there is likewise a glasse house, which is there a rarity, none other being as yet knowne in those parts. But the mint house that is in it, where is coyned halfe the Silver that cometh from *Sacatecos*, makes it the second to Mexico; and it is thought that in time it will bee as great and populous as Mexico. Without it there are many Gardens, which store the Markets with provision of Salets; the soile abounds with Wheat, and with Sugar Farmes; among the which not farre from this City there is one so great and populous (belonging to the Dominican Fryers of Mexico) that for the work onely belonging unto it, it maintained in my time above two hundred blackmore slaves men and women besides their little children. The chief Town betweene this City of *Angels*, and Mexico, is called *Gnacacingo* consisting of some five hundred *Indians*, and one hundred *Spaniards* Inhabitants. Here is likewise a Cloister of Franciscans, who entertained us gallantly, and made shew unto us of the dexterity of their *Indians* in Musick. Those fat Fryers wanted not like the rest all Provision necessary for the body. But their greatest glory and boasting to us was the education which they had given to some children of the Town, especially such as served them in their Cloister, whom they had brought up to dancing after the *Spanish* fashion at the sound of the Guitarra. And this a dozen of them (the biggest not being above fourteen years of age) performed excellently for our better entertainment that night, wee were there till midnight, singing both *Spanish* and *Indian* tunes, capering and dancing with their Castanettes, or knockers on their fingers with such dexterity, as not onely did delight, but amaze and astonish us. True it is, wee thought those Franciscans might have been better employed at that time in their Quire at their midnight devotion.

devotions according to their profession; but we still found vowed religious duties more and more neglected, and worldliness too too much imbraced, by such as had renounced and forsaken the world and all its pleasures, sports and pastimes.

This Towne of *Gnacocingo* is almost as much as *Tlaxcallan* privileged by the Kings of Spain; for that it joyned with *Tlaxcallan* against the *Mexicans*, in defence of *Hernando Cortez* and the rest of the *Spaniards* that first conquered that land. These of *Gnacocingo* being confederated with the inhabitants of *Tlaxcallan*, *Chololla*, and *Huacabolla* strongly defended the inhabitants of *Chalco*, when they sent to *Cortez* for succour, declaring that the *Mexicans* made great spoile among them. Which succour *Cortez* at that time not being able to send them, being busied in sending for his *Vergantines* to besiege *Mexico* by water as well as by land, he remitted them to the helpe of the *Tlaxcaltecas*, and unto these of *Gnacocingo*, *Chololla*, and *Huacabolla*; who shewed great valour as yet never buried in oblivion, in relieving *Chalco* against the strength, and power of *Montezuma*, which had issued out of *Mexico*, to keep the *Spaniards* from drawing neer unto that City. For that fact is this Towne with the others fore-mentioned, untill this day privileged and highly esteemed of the *Spaniards*. From hence we made our last journey to the City of *Mexico*, passing over the side of that high hill which we had discovered at the City of *Angels*, some thirty miles off. There are no Alpes like unto it for height, cold, and constant snow that lieth upon it. From *Spain* to that place we had not felt any such extremity of cold, which made the *Spaniards* that had come out of the hot climate of *Spain*, and endured excessive heat at sea, wonder and admire. This last journey from *Gnacocingo* to *Mexico* we reckoned to be thirty *English* miles, and of the thirty miles we judged at least the fifteen to be up and downe the hill; and yet the top of it (whether we ascended not) was far higher. From that highest part of it which we travailed over, we discovered the City of *Mexico*, and the lake about it, which seemed to us to be neer at hand, standing some ten *English* miles in a plain from the bottome of this mountaine. When *Hernando Cortez* went the second time from *Tlaxcallan* to *Mexico*, to besiege it by land and by water, with *Vergantines* which for that purpose he had caused to be made, on the side of this mountaine were his land Forces lodged, where many had perished with cold, had it not been for the store of wood which they found there. But in the morning he ascended upwards on this hill, and sent his scout of four Foot-men and four Horse-men to discover, who found the way stopped with great trees newly cut downe by the *Mexicans*, and placed crosswise in the way. But they thinking that yet forwards it was not so, proceeded forth as well as they might, till at length the let with great huge Cedars was such, that they could passe no further, and with this newes were forced to return, certifying *Cortez* that the Horse-men could not passe that way in any wise. *Cortez* demanded of them whether they had seen any people; they answered No. Whereupon he proceeded forward, with all the Horse-men, and a thousand Foot-men, commanding all the residue of his Army to follow him with as much speed as might be, so that with that company which he carried with him, he made way, taking away the trees that were cut downe to disturbe his passage; and in this order in short time passed his host without any hurt or danger, but with great pain and travaile; for certainly if the *Mexicans* had been there to defend that passage, the *Spaniards* had not passed; for it was then a very evill way (though now it be a reasonable wide open roade, where Mules laden with wares from *St. John de Ulina*, and the Sugar farmes daily passe) and the *Mexicans* also thought the same to be sure with the trees which were crossed the way; whereupon they were carelesse of that place, and attended their coming in plain ground; for from *Tlaxcallan* to *Mexico* are three wayes, of the which *Cortez* chose the worst, imagining the thing that afterwards fell out, or else some had advised him how that way was cleare from the enemies. At the descent of this hill *Cortez* abode and rested himselfe, till all the whole Army were come together, to descend downe into the plaine; for from hence they descried the fires and beacons of their enemies in sundry places, and all those who had attended their coming by the other two waies, were now gathered together, thinking to set upon them betwixt certain bridges (which are in the plain made for travellers by reason of the many dikes and currents of water which issue from the lake) where a great company abode expecting their coming. But *Cortez* sent twenty Horse-men who made way among them, and then followed the whole Army, who slew many of them without receiving any hurt. Thus did the remembrance of those antiqui-

antiquities newly refreshed by the object of the hill and plain beneath, make that cold and hard passage more comfortable and easie unto us. The first Towne we came to below the hill, was *Quahuipec*, of the jurisdiction of *Texcoco*; where we also called to mind, that this was the place, neer unto which was pitched the Campe of the *Indians* of *Culena*, which was neer a hundred thousand men of warre, who were sent by the Seniors of *Mexico* and *Texcoco* to encounter *Cortez*; but all in vain; for his Horse-men broke through them, and his Artillerie made such havock among them, that they were soon put to flight.

Three leagues from hence on our right hand as we travailed, we discovered *Texcoco* by the side of the lake, and out of the Rode; yet it ministred unto us matter of a large discourse, taken from the time of *Cortez* and the first Conquerers, who found it a great City, and at that time even as big as *Mexico*; though in it *Cortez* met with no resistance; for as he journeyed towards it, foure principall persons inhabitants of it met with his forces, bearing a rod of gold with a little flag in token of peace, saying that *Coacnacoyocin* their Lord had sent them to desire him not to make any spoile in his City, and Townes about it; and likewise to offer his friendship, praying also that it might please him with his whole Army to take his lodging in the Town of *Texcoco*, where he should be well received. *Cortez* rejoicing at this message, yet jealous of some treachery, and mistrusting the people of *Texcoco* (whose forces joyned with the *Mexicans* and *Culmucans* he had met with a little before) went forward on his way and came to *Quahuitichan* and *Huacutla* (which then were suburbs of the great City *Texcoco*, but now are petty Villages by themselves) where he and all his host were plenteously provided of all things necessary, and threw down the Idols. This done he entred into the City, where his lodging was prepared in a great house, sufficient for him and all the *Spaniards*, with many other his *Indian* friends. And because that at his first entry, he saw neither women nor children, he suspected some treason, and forthwith proclaimed upon pain of death that none of his men should goe out. In the evening the *Spaniards* went up into the Zories and galleries to behold the City, and there they saw the great number of Citizens that fled from thence with their stufte, some towards the mountaines, and others to the water side to take boat, a thing strange to see the great haste and stirre to provide for themselves. There were at that time at least twenty thousand little boats (called *Canoes*) occupied in carrying household-stuffe and passengers; *Cortez* would faine have remedied it, but the night was so nigh at hand, that he could not. He would gladly also have apprehended the Lord, but hee was one of the first that fled unto *Mexico*. This Towne of *Texcoco* to this day is famous among the *Spaniards*; for that it was one of the first, if not the first (which according to the Histories of those parts is very probable) that received a Christian King to rule and governe. For *Cortez* hearing that *Coacnacoyocin* then King of that City and Townes adjacent was fled, caused many of the Citizens to be called before him, and having in his company a young gentleman of a Noble house in that countrey, who had been lately christened, and had to name *Hernando* (*Cortez* being his God-father, who loved him well) said unto the Citizens, that this new Christian Lord *Don Hernando* was sonne unto *Nezualpincintli* their loving Lord, wherefore he required them to make him their King, considering that *Coacnacoyocin* was fled unto the enemies, laying alse before them his wicked fact in killing of *Cacusa* his owne brother, onely to put him from his inheritance and Kingdome, through the enticement of *Quahuitmocin* a mortall enemy to the *Spaniards*. In this sort was that new Christian *Don Hernando* elected King, and the fame thereof being blown abroad, many Citizens repaired home again to visit their new Prince, so that in short space the City was as well replenished with people, as it was before, and being also well used at the *Spaniards* hands, they served them diligently in all things that they were commanded. And *Don Hernando* abode ever after a faithfull friend unto the *Spaniards* in their warres against *Mexico*, and in short time learned the *Spanish* tongue. And soone after came the inhabitants of *Quahuitichan*, *Huacutla*, and *Autenco* to submit themselves, craving pardon if in any thing they had offended. Within two daies after *Don Hernando* was made King of this great City and Territorie belonging to it (whose borders reach unto the borders of *Tlaxcallan*) came certaine gentlemen of *Huacutla* and *Quahuitichan*, to certifie unto him, how all the power of the *Mexicans* was coming towards them, and to know if it were his pleasure, that they should carry their wives, children and other goods into the

mountaines, or else to bring them where he was, their feare was so great. *Cortez* for the King his God-child and favourite made unto them this answer, saying, Bee ye of good courage, and feare ye not. Also I pray you to command your wives and families to make no alteration, but rather quietly to abide in your houses. And concerning the enemies I am glad of their coming, for ye shall see how I will deal with them. But the enemies went not to *Huacxuta*, as it was thought; nevertheless *Cortez* having intelligence where they were, went out to encounter them with two pieces of Ordnance, twelve Horsemen and two hundred *Spaniards*, and with many *Indians* of *Tlaxcallan*. He fought with the enemy, and slew but few, for they fled to the water, and so escaped in their *Canoas*. Thus did *Cortez* in *Texcoco* defend himselfe and friends from the great power of the *Mexicans*, who daily attempted to be revenged on him, and the new Christian King whom he had made. But *Cortez* thinking that place the most convenient to lanch his Vergantines to the water, and hearing that they were finished at *Tlaxcallan*, sent *Gonzalo de Sandoval* to bring them from *Tlaxcallan*; who at the border of that Province met with them being brought in pieces, as tables, planks and nayles, with all other furniture, the which eight thousand men carried upon their backs. There came also for their safe conduct twenty thousand men of warre, and a thousand *Tamemes*, who were the Carriers of victuals, and servants. *Chichimecateeli*, a principall and valiant *Indian* and Captaine of a thousand men had the Rere-guard. And *Tupitil* and *Teutecatli*, very principall gentlemen, had the Vant-guard with ten thousand men. In the midt were placed the *Tamemes*; and those that carried the Foyst, with all the apparell of the Vergantines. Before those two Captains went a hundred *Spaniards*, and eight Horse-men, and behind and last came *Gonzalo de Sandoval* with all the residue, and seven Horse-men. Thus they tooke their way towards *Texcoco*, with a marvellous noise, crying, Christians, Christians, *Tlaxcallan*, *Tlaxcallan*, and *Spaine*. When they came to *Texcoco*, they entred in in very good order, with the sound of Drummes, Snail shels, and other like instruments of musick, and against their entry into the City, they put on all their bravery of clothes, and busies of feathers, which was a gallant sight; they were six houres in entering into the Towne, keeping their array. At the same of this many Provinces came to submit and offer their service unto *Cortez*, some for fear of destruction, and others for the hatred which they bare to the *Mexicans*; so that now *Cortez* was strong both with *Spaniards* and *Indians*; and his Court at *Texcoco* was as great, or greater then *Montezuma's* formerly had been at *Mexico*. And here *Cortez* made his preparation for the siege of *Mexico* with all hast, and furnished himselfe with scaling ladders, and other necessities fit for such a purpose. His Vergantines being nayled and thoroughly ended, he made a sluice, or trench of halfe a league of length, twelve foot broad and more, and two fadome in depth. This worke was fifty daies a doing; although there were foure hundred thousand men daily working; truly a famous worke and worthy of memory, which hath made *Texcoco* gloriously mentioned, though now almost decayed in the great number of inhabitants. The Dock or Trench being thus finished, the Vergantines were calked with tow and cotton wooll, and for want of Tallow and oyle, they were (as some Authors report) driven to take mans grease, not that *Cortez* permitted them to slay men for that effect, but of those which were slaine in the warres, and of such as salied daily out of *Mexico* to hinder this work, and fighting were slaine. The *Indians*, who were cruel and bloody Butchers, using sacrifice of mans flesh, would in this sort open the dead body and take out the grease. The Vergantines being lanchted, *Cortez* mulstered his men, and found nine hundred *Spaniards*, of the which were four-score and six Horse-men, and a hundred and eighteen with Crosse-bowes, and Hargabushes; and all the residue had sundry weapons, as Swords, Daggers, Targets, Launces, and Halberts. Also they had for armour, Corsets, coats of Mayle, and Jackes. They had moreover three great Peeces of cast Iron, fifteen small peeces of brassie, and ten hundred weight of powder, with store of shot, besides a hundred thousand *Indians*, men of warre. On Whitsunday all the *Spaniards* came into the field, that great plaine below the high mountaine spoken of before, where *Cortez* made three chiefe Captaines, among whom he divided his whole Army. Unto *Pedro de Alvarado* the first Captaine he appointed thirty Horse-men, and a hundred and seventy Foote-men of the *Spaniards*, two peeces of Ordnance, and thirty thousand *Indians*, commanding him to campe in *Tlaopan*. Unto *Christoval de Olid* the second Captaine

hee gave three and thirty horsemen, and a hundred and eighteen footmen of the *Spanish* Nation, two peeces of Ordnance and thirty thousand *Indians*, and appointed him to pitch his campe in *Culhuacan*. To *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, who was the third Captaine, hee gave three and twenty horsemen, and a hundred and threescore footmen, two peeces of Ordnance, and forty thousand *Indians*, with Commission to choose a place to pitch his campe. In every Vergantine hee planted a peece of Ordnance, six Hargabushes, or Crosse-bowes, and three and twenty *Spaniards*, men most fit for that purpose. Hee appointed also Captaines for each, and himselfe for Generall, whereof some of the chiefeft of his Company began to murmur, that went by land, thinking that they had been in greater danger; wherefore they required him to goe with the maine battaile, and not by water. *Cortez* little esteemed their words; for although there was more danger in the land then in the water, yet it did more import to have greater care in the Warres by water, then on the land, because his men had bene in the one, and not in the other. Besides the chiefeft hopes that *Cortez* had to winne *Mexico*, were these Vessels, for with them he burned a great part of the *Canoes* of *Mexico*, and the rest hee so locked up, that they were no help unto the *Mexicans*, and with twelve onely Vergantines hee did annoy his enemy as much by water, as the rest of his Army did by land. All this preparation for the siege of *Mexico* by land and water, with above a hundred thousand *Indians*, besides the *Spaniards* above mentioned, and the twelve Vergantines by water, was finished in this City of *Texcoco*, which is a sufficient argument of the greatnesse of it at that time, maintaining with Provision fit and necessary so many thousands of people, and it yeelded matter enough unto us for a large discourse, whilst not farre from the sight of it wee travelled in the open and direct plaine Rode to *Mexico*. And as we talked of the greatnesse of it in former times, so likewise wee now wondered to consider it to bee but a small Government, where doth constantly reside a *Spanish* Governour sent from *Spain*, whose power reacheth to those borders of *Tlaxcallan* and *Gnacocingo*, and to most of the petty Townes and Villages of the plaine, which were formerly under the command and power of a King; but now are not able to make up above a thousand Duckats a yeer, which is supposed to bee the yeerly revenues of the Governour; and *Texcoco* it self this day judged to consist onely of a hundred *Spaniards*, and three hundred *Indian* Inhabitants, whose chiefe riches come by gardening, and sending daily in their *Canoe's* Herbes and Salets to *Mexico*. Some wealth likewise they get by their Cedar trees which grow there, and are ready timber for the buildings of *Mexico*. Yet now also are these Cedars much decayed by the *Spaniards*, who have waited and spoiled them in their too too sumptuous buildings. *Cortez* onely was accused by *Pamfilo de Narvaez*, for that hee had spent seven thousand beames of Cedar trees in the worke of his owne house. Gardens there were in *Texcoco* formerly, that had a thousand Cedar trees for walls and circuite, some of them of a hundred and twenty foot long, and twelve foot in compasse from end to end; but now that Garden that hath fifty Cedar trees about it, is much regarded. At the end of this plain wee passed through *Mexicalcingo*, which formerly was a great Town, but now not of above an hundred Inhabitants, and from thence to *Guetlawa*, a petty Village, yet most pleasant for the shade of many fruit trees, Gardens, and stately houses which for their recreation some Citizens of *Mexico* have built there, being at the foot of the Cawley which from this Town through the Lake reacheth about five *English* miles to *Mexico*. And thus upon the third day of *October*, 1625. wee entred into that famous and gallant City, yet not abiding in it, but onely passing through it, till we came to a house of recreation, standing among the Gardens in the way to *Chapultepec*, named *Saint Jacintha*, belonging to the Dominicans of *Manila* in the *East-Indies*, (whither our course was intended) where wee were stately entertained, and abode till after *Candlemasse* day, the time of our second shipping at *Acoapulco*, (80. leagues from *Mexico*) by the South-Sea to *Manila* the chief City of the Islands named *Philippina*.

CHAP. XII.

Shewing some particulars of the great and famous City of Mexico in former times, with a true description of it now; and of the State and condition of it the yeare 1625.

IT hath been no small peece of Policy in the Fryers and Jesuites of *Manila* and the Islands of *Philippinas* to purchase neere about *Mexico*, some house and Garden to carry thither such Missionary Preists as they yearly bring from *Spain* for those parts. For were it not that they found some rest and place of Recreation, but were presently closed up in the Cloisters of *Mexico* to follow those Religious duties (which fore against their wills most of them are forced to) they would soone after a tedious journey from *Spain* by Sea and land relent of their purposes of going forward, and venturing upon a second voiage by the South-Sea; and would either resolve upon a returne to *Spain*, or of staying in some part of *America*; as my selfe and five more of my company did, though secretly and hiddenly, and fore against the will of Fryer *Cabro* and others, who had the tutoring and conducting of us. Therefore that all such as come from *Spain* to bee shipped againe at *Acoapulco* for *Philippinas*, may have all manner of incouragement, rest and recreations becomming their Professions, whilst they doe abide in *America*, and may not bee disheartned by those that live about *Mexico*, (who doe truly envy all that passe that way to *Asia*) the Fryers and Jesuites have purchased for their Missions houses of Recreation among the Gardens, which are exempted from the power and command of the Superiors of *Mexico*, and are subordinate unto the Government of the Provincials of *Philippinas*, who send from thence their substitute Vicars to rule, and to looke to the forementioned houses and Gardens. To the Dominicans belonged this house called *St. Jacinto*, whither wee were carried, and where wee did abide neere five moneths, having all things provided that were fit and necessary for our Recreations, and for our better encouragement to a second voiage by Sea. The Gardens belonging to this house might bee of fifteen Acres of ground, divided into shady walkes under the Orange and Lemmon trees; there wee had the Pomegranates, Figges, and Grapes in abundance, with the Plantin, Sapotte, Chicofapotte, Pine-fruit, and all other fruits that were to bee found in *Mexico*. The Herbes and Salets, and great number of *Spanish Cardoes* which were sold out, brought in a great Rent yeerely; for every day there was a Cart attended to bee filled and sent to the Market of *Mexico*; and this not at seasons of the yeere, as here in *England* and other parts of *Europe*, but at all times and seasons, both Winter and Summer, there being no difference of heat, cold, frosts, and snow, as with us; but the same temper all the whole yeer, the Winter differing onely from the Summer by the raïne that falls, and not by excessive frosts that nip. This wee enjoyed without dore; but within wee had all sorts and varieties both of fish and flesh. What most wee wondred at, was the abundance of Sweet-Meat; and especially of Conserves that were provided for us; for to every one of us during the time of our abode there, was brought on Munday morning halfe a dozen Boxes of Conserve of Quinces, and other fruits, besides our Biskets, to stay our stomaches in the mornings and at other times of the day; for in our stomaches we found a great difference betwene *Spain* and that Countrey. For in *Spain* and other parts of *Europe* a mans stomach will hold out from meale to meale, and one meale here of good cheer will nourish and cherish the stomach foure and twenty houres; But in *Mexico* and other parts of *America* wee found that two or three houres after a good meale of three or foure severall dishes of Mutton, Veale or Beefe, Kid, Turkie, or other Fowles, our stomaches would bee ready to faint, and so wee were laine to support them with either a cup of *Chocolatte*, or a bit of Conserve or Bisket, which for that purpose was allowed us in great abundance. This seemed to mee so strange, (whereas the meat seemed as fat and hearty, excepting the Beefe, as ours in *Europe*) that I for some satisfaction presently had recourse to a Doctor of Physick; who cleared my doubt with this answer, That though the meat we fed on was as faire to looke on, as in *Spain*; yet the substance and nourishment in it came farre short of it, by reason of the pasture, which is dryer and hath not the change of Springs which the pastures of *Europe* have,

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but is short and withers soone away. But secondly, hee told mee that the Climate of those parts had this effect, to produce a faire shew, but little matter or substance. As in the flesh wee fed on; so likewise in all the fruits there, which are most faire and beautiful to behold, most sweet and luscious to taste, but little inward virtue or nourishment at all in them, not halfe that is in *Spanish Camuesa*, or *English Kentish Pippin*. And as in Meat, and fruit there is this inward and hidden deceit, so likewise the same is to bee found in the people that are borne and bred there, who make faire outward shewes, but are inwardly false and hollow hearted. Which I have heard reported much among the *Spaniards* to have beene the answer of our *Queene Elizabeth* of *England* to some that presented unto her of the fruits of *America*, that surely where those fruits grew, the women were light, and all the people hollow and false hearted. But further reasons I omit to search into for this; of experience onely I write, which taught me that little substance & virtue is in the great abundance and variety of food which there is enjoyed, our stomackes witnessing this truth, which ever and anon were gaping and crying, Feed, feed. Our Conferences therefore and dainties were plentifully allowed us; and all other encouragements and no occasion denied us of going to visit *Mexico*, (which was not two full miles from us) all the while wee abode there. It was a pleasant walke for us to goe out in the morning, and to spend all the day in the City and come home at night; our way lying by Arches made of stone, three miles long to convey the water from *Chapultepec* unto the City. Take therefore, gentle Reader, from mee what for the space of five moneths I could learne concerning it in former and present times. The situation of this City is much like that of *Venice*; but onely differs in this, that *Venice* is built upon the Sea-water, and *Mexico* upon a lake, which seeming one, indeed is two; one part whereof is standing water; the other ebbeth and floweth according to the wind that bloweth. That part which standeth, is wholesome, good, and sweet, and yieldeth store of small fish. That part which ebbeth and floweth, is of saltish, bitter, and pestiferous water, yielding no kind of fish, small or great. The sweet water standeth higher then the other, and falleth into it, and reverteth not backward, as some conceive it doth. The salt Lake containeth fifteen miles in breadth, and fifteen in length, and more then five and forty in Circuite; and the Lake of sweet water containeth even as much; in such sort that the whole Lake containeth much about a hundred miles. The *Spaniards* are divided in opinions concerning this water and the Springs of it; some hold that all this water hath but one spring out of a great and high Mountaine which standeth South west within sight of *Mexico*, and that the cause that the one part of the Lake is brackish or saltish, is that the bottome or ground is all salt; But however this opinion bee true or false, certaine it is and by experience I can witness that of that part of the salt water great quantity of Salt is dayly made, and is part of the great Trading of that City into other parts of the Countrey, nay it is sent part of it to the *Philippina* Islands. Others say that this Lake hath two springs, and that the fresh water springeth out of that Mountaine which standeth South west from *Mexico*, and the salt brackish water springeth out of other high Mountaines which stand more North west; But these give no reason for the saltnesse of it, without it bee the agitation of it in the ebbing and flowing; which not being with tides like the Sea, but with the winds onely (which indeed make it as stormy sometimes as is the Sea) why may not the winds produce the same effect in the fresh water Lake? I think rather, if it spring from a different spring from that from whence springeth the fresh water, the brackishnesse and saltishnesse of it may proceed from some brackish and sulphurous minerals through which it passeth in those Mountaines. For by experience I know the like in the Province of *Guatemala*, where by a Towne called *Amatitan*, there is a standing Lake of water not altogether sweet and fresh, but a little brackish, which certainly hath its spring from a fiery Mountaine called there a *Vulcan*, (whose burning proceeds from the Mines of brimstone that are within it) from whence spring neere the same Towne likewise two or three springs of exceeding hot water, which are resorted to for wholesome bathes, as coming through a sulphurous mine, and yet the standing Lake proceeding from the same Mountaine is of that quality that maketh it the ground about it salt, and especially in the mornings the people go to gather up the salt which lyeth upon the ground by the water side like unto a hoary frost. But thirdly, others conceive that that part of the Lake of *Mexico* which is saltish and brackish comes through the earth from the North Sea; and though springs of water which come from the Sea lose their

brackishnesse

brackishnesse through the earth, yet this may keepe some brackishnesse by reason of the minerals, which are many in those parts; or by reason of the great, wide and open concavities of those mountaines, which being very hollow within (as wee find by experience of the Earthquakes which are more frequent there then here by reason of the wind that getteth into those concavities, and so shake the earth together out) give no way to the water to sweeten through the earth, or to lose all that saltnesse which it brought with it from the Sea. But whatsoever the true reason bee, there is not the like Lake knowne of sweet and saltish water, one part breeding fish, the other breeding none at all. This Lake had formerly some fourescore Townes, some say more, situated round about it; many of them containing five thousand households, and someten thousand, yea and *Texcoco* (as I have said before) was as bigge as *Mexico*. But when I was there, there might bee thirty Townes and Villages about it, and scarce any of above five hundred households between *Spaniards* and *Indians*; such hath beene the hard usage of the *Spaniards* towards them, that they have even almost consumed that poore Nation. Nay two years before I came from those parts, which were the years of 1635. and 1636. I was credibly informed that a million of *Indians* lifes had been lost in an endeavour of the *Spaniards*, to turne the water of the Lake another way from the City, which was performed by cutting away through the Mountaines, for to avoid the great inundations that *Mexico* was subjeckt unto, and especially for that the year 1634. the waters grew so high that they threatend destruction to all the City, ruining a great part, and coming into the Churches that stood in the highest part of it, in so much that the people used commonly boats and *Canoe's* from house to house. And most of the *Indians* that lived about the Lake were employed to strive against this strong Element of water, which hath beene the undoing of many poore wretches, but especially of these thirty Towns and Villages that bordered near upon the Lake; which now by that great work is further from the houses of the City; and hath a passage made another way, though it was thought it would not long continue, but would find againe its old course towards *Mexico*. This City when *Cortez* first entred into it, (was as some say) of sixty, but more probably it is reported to have beene of fourescore thousand houses. *Montezuma* his palace was very great, large and beautifull, which in the *Indian* language was named *Tepec*; and that had twenty doores or gates, which had their outcoming into the common streets. It had three Courts; and in the one stood a faire Fountaine, many hals, and a hundred chambers of three and twenty, and thirty foot long, an hundred bathes, and hot houses; and all this without nailes, yet very good workmanship. The walls were made of *Masons* worke, and wrought of Marble, *Iaspe*, and other black stone, with veines of red, like unto Rubies and other stones which glistered very faire; the roofs were wrought of timber, and curiously carved, being of Cedar, Cypress, and Pine tree; the Chambers were painted and hung with cloth of Cotton, and of Coneyes haire and feathers. The beds onely were unfeeming this great state, very poore and of no value, such as to this day the best and richest *Indians* use; for they weare nothing but mantles laid upon mattes, or upon hey, or else mattes alone. Within this Palace lived a thousand women, nay some affirme three thousand, reckoning gentlewomen, servants and slaves, all together; But the most were principall *Indians* daughters; of whom *Montezuma* tooke for himselfe those that liked him best, and the others hee gave in marriage to gentlemen his servants. It is credibly reported among the *Spaniards* that hee had at one time a hundred and fifty women his wives with child, who commonly tooke medicines to cast their creatures, because they knew that they should not inherit the State; and these had many old women to guard them, for no man was permitted to looke upon them. Besides this *Tepec*, which signifieth, Palace, *Montezuma* had yet in *Mexico* another house with very curious lodgings and fair Galleries, built upon pillars of *Iaspe*, which looked towards a goodly Garden, in the which there were at least a dozen Ponds, some of salt water for Sea fowles, and others of fresh water for River fowles and Lake fowles, which Ponds were devised with Sluces to empty and to fill at pleasure for the cleanness of the Fowles feathers; and these Fowles are said to have beene so many in number, that the Ponds could scarcely hold them, and of such severall sorts, and of such strange and various coloured feathers, that the most of them the *Spaniards* knew not, nor had at any time seen the like. There did belong to that house above three hundred persons of service, who had their severall charge concerning these Fowles; some had care to cleanse the Ponds;

others

others were appointed to fish for bait; others served them with meat; and to every kind of fowle they gave such bait as they were wont to feed of in the fields or rivers; others did trim their feathers; others had care to look to their eggs; others to set them abroad; & the principallest office was to pluck the feathers; for of them were made rich mantles, tapistry, targets, tusses of feathers, and many other things wrought with gold and silver.

Besides this house, *Montezuma* had yet another house within *Mexico*, appointed only for hawking fowles, and fowles of rapine. In which house there were many high Halls, wherein were kept men, women, and children, such as were dwarfs, crook-backs or any monstrous persons, and with them such as were born white of colour, which did very seldome happen; nay some would deform their children on purpose to have them carried to the Kings house, to helpe to set forth his greatness by their deformity. In the lower Halls of this house there were Cages for fowls of rapine of all sorts, as Hawkes, Kites, Boyters (which are very many in those parts) and of the Hawkes neer a dozen sundry kinds of them. This house had for daily allowance five hundred Turkey cocks, and three hundred men of service, besides the Falconers and Hunters, which some say were above a thousand men. The Hunters were maintained in that house, because of the ravenous beasts which were also kept in the lower Halls in great cages made of timber, wherein were kept in some Lions, in other Tygres, in other Owznes, in other Wolves; in conclusion, there was no four-footed beast that wanted there, only to the effect; that the mighty *Montezuma* might say that he had such things in his house; and all were fed daily with Turkey cocks, Deare, Dogges, and such like. There were also in another Hall great earthen vessels, some with earth, and some with water, wherein were Snakes, as grosse as a mans thigh, Vipers, Crocodiles which they call *Caymanes*, of twenty foot long with scales and head like a Dragon; besides many other smaller Lizards and other venemous beasts and Serpents, as well of the water as of the land. To these Snakes and the other venemous beasts they usually gave the blood of men sacrificed to feed them. Others say they gave unto them mans flesh, which the great Lizards, or *Caimanes* eat very well. But what was wonderfull to behold, horrid to see, hideous to heare in this house, was the Officers daily occupations about these beasts, the floor with blood like a gelly, stinking like a slaughter-house, and the roaring of the lions, the fearfull hissing of the Snakes and Adders, the dolefull howling and barking of the Wolves, the sorrowfull yelling of the Owznes and Tigres, when they would have meat. And yet in this place, which in the night season seemed a dungeon of Hell, and a dwelling place of the Devill, could a heathen Prince pray unto his Gods and idols; for neer to this Hall was another of a hundred and fifty foot long and thirty foot broad, where was a chappell with the rooffe of silver and gold in lease wainscotted and decked with great store of pearl and stone, as Agats, Cornerines, Emeralds, Rubies, and divers other sorts; and this was the Oratory where *Montezuma* prayed in the night season, and in that chappell the Devill did appear unto him, and gave him answer according to his prayers, which as they were uttered among so many ugly and deformed beasts, and with the noise of them which represented Hell it selfe, were fitted for a Devils answer. He had also his Armoury, wherein was great store of all kind of such Ammunition which they used in their wars, as Bowes, Arrowes, Slings, Launces, Darts, Clubs, Swords and bucklers, and gallant Targets more trimme then strong, and all made of wood, gilt or covered with leather. The wood whereof they made their Armour and Targets was very hard and strong; and at their arrowes ends they inclosed a litle peece of flint-stone, or a peece of a fish-bone called *Libisa*, which was so venemous, that if any were hurt with it, and the head remained in the wound, it so festered that it was almost incurable. Their Swords were of wood, and the edge thereof was flint-stone, inclosed or joyned into a stasse, and with these swords they cut speares, yea and a Horses neck at a blow, and could make dents into iron, which seemeth a thing unpensible and incredible. These flints were joyned into the stasses with a certain kind of glew, which was made of a root called *Zacolt*, and *Touxalli*, which is a kind of strong sand, whereof they made a mixture, and after kneaded it with blood of Batters, or Reare mice and other fowle, which did glew so strong, that it scarce ever uncleved again; and of these *Montezumas* had in his house of Armour great store. But besides these houses it is wonderfull to relate, yet many others which that great heathen Emperour had for his only recreation and pastime, with excellent fair gardens of medicinall

mall herbs, sweet flowers, and trees of delectable favour. But of one garden more especially it is said, that in it there were a thousand personages made, and wrought artificially of leaves and flowers. And *Montezuma* would not permit that in this garden should be any kind of Pot-herbs, or things to be sold, saying that it did not appertain to Kings to have things of profit among their delights and pleasures, for that such did appertain to Merchants. Yet out of *Mexico* he had Orchards with many and sundry fruits; and likewise pleasant houses in woods and forests, of great compass, environed with water, in the which he had fountaines, rivers, ponds with fish, rocks and coverts where were Harts, Bucks, Hares, Foxes, Wolves and such like, whither he himselfe seldome went; but the Lords of *Mexico* used to goe to sport themselves in them. Such and so many were the houses of *Montezuma*, wherein few Kings were equall with him. He had dayly attending upon him in his privy guard six hundred noblemen and gentlemen, and each of them three or foure servants, and some had twenty servants or more according to their estate; and the most credible report goes, that in this manner he had three thousand men attendants in his Court, all which were fed in his house of the meat that came from his table. There were in those times under the *Mexicall* empire three thousand Lords of Townes, who had many vassals; but more especially there were thirty of high estate, who were able to make each of them a hundred thousand men of warre. And all these noble men did abide in *Mexico*, certaine time of the yeare in the Court of *Montezuma*, and could not depart from thence without especial licence of the Emperour, leaving each of them a sonne or brother behind them for security of rebellion; and for this cause they had generally houses in the City; such and so great was the Court of *Montezuma*. Moreover he spent nothing in the buildings of all these his houses, for he had certaine Townes that payed no other tribute, but only to work and repair continually his houses at their own proper cost, and payed all kind of workemen, carrying upon their backs, or drawing in sleds stone, lyme, timber, water, and all other necessities for the worke. Likewise they were bound to provide all the wood that should be spent in the Court, which was five hundred mens burthens, and some daies in the winter much more. But especially for the Emperours chimneys they brought the barke of Oke trees, which was esteemed for the light. Thus was that great City formerly illustrated with a mighty Monarch, his houses, and attendants. There were then also in *Mexico* three sorts of streets, very broad and faire; the one fort was only of water, with many bridges, another sort of only earth, and the third of earth and water, the one half being firme ground to walke upon, and the other halfe for boats to bring provision to the City; the most part of the houses had two doores, the one toward the Cawsey, and the other toward the water, at the which they tooke boat to goe whither they list. But this water (though so neer to the houses) being not good to drinke, there is other water fresh and sweet brought by conduit to *Mexico*, from a place called *Chapul-tepec* three miles distant from the City, which springeth out of a little hill, at the foot whereof stood formerly two statues, or images wrought in stone, with their Targets and Launces, the one of *Montezuma*, the other of *Axaiaca* his father. The water is brought from thence to this day in two pipes built upon Arches of brick and stone like a fair bridge; and when the one pipe is foule, then all the water is conveyed into the other, till the first be made cleane. From this fountaine all the whole City is provided, and the Water-men go selling the same water from street to street, some in little boats, others with earthen Tankards upon Mules or Asses backs. The chiefe and principall division of this City when the Spaniards first conquered it, was into two streets, the one was called *Tlatzilco*, that is to say, a little Island, and the other *Mexico*, where *Montezuma* his dwelling and Court was, signifying in the language a spring. And because of the Kings palace there, the whole City was named *Mexico*. But the old and first name of the City according to some Histories was *Tenochtitlan*, which signifieth fruit out of a stone, being a compounded name of *Teti*, which in the language is stone, and *Nuchli*, which is a sweet fruit called generally in *Cuba*, and all other parts of *America* by the Spaniards, *Tunas*; the name of the tree whereon this fruit groweth is called *Nopal*. And when this City begunne to be founded it was placed neer unto a great stone that stood in the midst of the lake, at the foot whereof grew one of these *Nopal* trees; which is the reason why *Mexico* giveth for armes and device the foot of a *Nopal* tree springing from a stone according to the first name of the City *Tenochtitlan*.

But

But others doe affirme that this City hath the name of the first founder of it, called *Tenuch*, the second sonne of *Izacamcoatl*, whose sonnes and descendents did first inhabit all that part of *America*, which is now called new *Spain*. *Mexico* is as much as to say a spring or fountain, according to the property of the vowel or speech, from whence some judge that City to be so named. But others doe affirme that *Mexico* hath its name from a more ancient time, whose first founders were called *Mexiti*, for unto this day the *Indian* dwellers in one street of this City are called of *Mexica*. And that these *Mexiti* tooke name of their principall idol called *Mexitli*, who was in as great veneration as *Vitzilopuhli*, God of the warre. But others affirme (and this opinion is most received among the *Spaniards*) that the *Mexicans* first were the inhabitants of *Novia Galicia*; from whence they made a violent irruption *Anno Domini* 720. and lingered in divers places till the yeare 902. when under the leading of *Mexi* their chiefe Captaine they built this City, and called it after the name of their Generall. They were in all seven Tribes, which ruled long in an Aristocraticall state; till the most puissant of the Tribes called *Navatlacon*, elected a King to whom they submitted themselves. The first King that was thus elected, was called *Vitzilovuitli*; the second, *Acampozli*; the third, *Chimalpapoca*; the fourth, *Izcoatl*; the fifth, *Montezuma* the first; the sixth, *Acacis*; the seventh, *Axaisca*; the eighth, *Anxol*; the ninth, *Montezuma* the second, who reigned when *Cortez* came first; the tenth, was *Quahutimoc*, who lost *Mexico*, and in whom ended that *Indian* Empire. The most fortunate of these Kings was *Izcoatl*, who by his cousin *Tlacatlec*, subdued the other six Tribes, and brought them under the *Mexican* Kings. And after the death of *Izcoatl*, *Tlacatlec* was by the first electours (which were six in number) chosen King, as a man of whose vertue they had formerly made tryall. But he very nobly refused it, saying that it was more convenient for the Common-wealth that another should be King, and that he should execute that which was otherwise more fit for the necessity of the State, then to lay the whole burthen upon his back; and that without being King, he would not leave to labour for the publike as well as if he were King. Upon this generous refusal they made choice of *Montezuma* the first. The most unhappy Kings of that nation (at whose birth could not but be some dysastrous aspect of the Planets) were the two last *Montezuma* the second, and *Quahutimoc*, who were both vanquished by *Ferdinando Cortez*, who tooke *Montezuma* prisoner out of his owne palace, and with fair words and language carried him to his lodging in *Mexico*; and kept him there, knocking a paite of gyves on his legges, untill the execution of *Quahpopoca* Lord of *Nabuitlan*; now called *Almeria* (who was to be burnt for killing nine *Spaniards*) was past. But this imprisonment of their Emperour stirred up the hearts of all the *Mexicans* to conspire against *Cortez* and the *Spaniards*, against whom they fought a most fierce and bloody battaile two or three daies together, crying out for their Emperour, and threatening them with the cruellest death that ever man suffered. Whereupon *Cortez* desired *Montezuma* to goe up into the Sotie of his house which they were battering with stones, and to command his subjects to cease from their heat and fury; who at *Cortez* his request went up and leaned over the wall to talke with them, and beginning to speake unto them, they threw so many stones out of the street, houses, and windows, that one happened to hit *Montezuma* on the temples of his head, with which blow he fell down dead to the ground; and this was his end, even at the hands of his owne subjects and vassals against their wills, in the City of his greatest glory, and in the power and custody of a forain and strange nation. The *Indians* affirm that he was of the greatest blood of all his linage, and the greatest King in estate that ever was in *Mexico*. And from hence it may very well be noted, that when Kingdomes doe most flourish, then are they nearest to a change, or els to change their Lord, as doth appeare in this History of *Montezuma*, whose great glory and majesty presaged the downfall of that City and people; who though after the death of *Montezuma* they made *Quahutimoc* their Emperour, and persisting in their furious battery against *Cortez* his palace, caused him and all his *Spaniards* to flie out of *Mexico*; yet having strengthened themselves againe in *Tlaxcallan*; and prepared sixteen, or as others say, eighteen *Vergantines* for the lake, they soone after besieged *Mexico* so by water and land, that the Citizens were in great necessity, and so many dead with hunger and sickness, that there were heapes of dead bodies in the houses, only to keep close their extremitie misery; who would not yeld even when they saw their King *Quahutimoc* his fair houses burned, and the greatest

part of their City consumed with fire and beaten downe plaine with the ground, so long as they could enjoy any one street, Tower, or Temple to defend themselves and oppose the *Spaniards*; who after many fierce and bloody fights by land and with their boates by water having wonne the chiet Market place and most of the City, as they went walking in the streets found heapes of dead bodies in the houses, streets, and in the water, and the very barkes of trees and roots gnawne by the hungry creatures, and the men so leane and yellow that it was a pitifull sight to behold. And with this *Cortez* yet required them to yeeld; but they although they were so leane of body were strong in heart, and answered that hee should not speak of any friendship to them, nor yet hope of their spoile, for when no fortune would favour them, then they would either burne their treasure, or throw it into the Lake, where they should never profit thereby, and that they would fight while one alone should remain alive.

Cortez, desirous to see what remained of the City to win, went up into a high Tower, and having well viewed the City, hee judged that of eight parts one remained yet to win. And assaulding the same, the sorrowfull Citizens bewailing their unfortunate fate and destiny, beleeching the *Spaniards* to make an end, and to kill them all out of hand; others standing at the brim of the water neere unto a draw-bridge cried out, Oh Captain *Cortez*, seeing that thou art the Child of the Sun, why dost thou not intreat the Sun thy Father to make an end of us? Oh thou Sun that canst goe round about the World in a day and a night, wee pray thee make an end of us and take us out of this miserable life, for we desire death to goe and rest with our God *Quauacatl* who carrieth for us. *Cortez* seeing the great extremity that these poor wretched people were in, thinking now that they would yeeld unto him, sent a message to *Quauimoo*, desiring him to consider his Subjects great extremity, which yet might be greater if hee yeelded not to Peace. But when the stubborn King heard this ambassage, hee was so moved with ire and choler, that forthwith hee commanded *Cortez* his Ambassadour to bee sacrificed, and gave the rest of the *Spaniards* that went with him for answer blowes with stones, staves and Arrowes, saying that they desired death and no Peace. Whereupon *Cortez* seeing the King so stubborn and refractory after so much slaughter and misery of his subjects, after so many Combates and skirmishes made with the losse of almost all the City, sent forthwith *Sandoval* with his Vergantines one way, and went himself another combating the houses and forts that yet remained, where hee found small resistance, so that hee might doe what hee pleased. One would have thought there had not been five thousand left in all the City seeing the heapes of dead bodies that lay about the streets and in the houses, and yet such was this last combat, that there were that day slain and taken prisoners forty thousand persons. The lamentable cry and mourning of the women and children, would have made a strong heart relent, the stench also of the dead bodies was wonderfull noysome. That night *Cortez* purposed to make an end the next day of the Warres; and *Quauimoo* pretended to flie, and for that purpose had embarked himself in a *Canoe* of twenty Oares. When the day appeared, *Cortez* with his men, and foure Peeces of Ordnance came to the corner where those that yet remained were shut up as Cattel in a Pound. Hee gave order to *Sandoval* and *Alvarado* what they should doe; which was to be ready with their Vergantines, and to watch the coming out of the *Canoes*, which were hidden betwixt certaine houses, and especially to have regard unto the Kings person, and not to hurt him, but to take him alive. Hee commanded the residue of his men to force the *Mexican* boates to goe out, and hee himselfe went up into a Tower, inquiring for the King, where hee found *Xihuacoa*, Governour and Capitaine Generall of the City, who would in no wise yeeld himself. Then came out of the City a great multitude of old folkes, men, women and children to take boat. The throng was so great with hast to enter the *Canoes*, that many by that meanes were drowned in the Lake. *Cortez* required his men not to kill those miserable creatures; But yet hee could not stay the *Indians* his friends of *Tlaxcallan*, and other places, who slew and sacrificed above fifteen thousand. The men of Warre stood in the house toppes, and Zories beholding their perdition. All the Nobility of *Mexico* were embarked with the King. Then *Cortez* gave signe with the shot of a hand-Gunne, that his Captaines should bee in a readinesse, so that in short space they were fully and wholly the great City of *Mexico*. The Vergantines likewise brake in among the Fleet of boates without

without any resistance, and presently beat down *Quabutimochis* Royall Standard. *Garcia Holguin* who was a Captaine of one of the Vergantines, espied a great *Canoe* of twenty Oares deep laden with men, who (being by one of his prisoners informed that the King was in it) gave chase to it and presently overtook it. When *Quabutimoc*, who stood upon the Puppe of his *Canoe* ready to fight, saw the *Spaniards* Crosse-bowes bent to shoot, and many drawne swords against him, hee yeelded himselfe, declaring that hee was King. *Garcia Holguin* being a glad man of such a prisoner tooke him and carried him unto *Cortez*, who received him very respectfully. But when *Quabutimoc* came neer unto him, hee laid his hand upon *Cortez* his dagger, saying, I have done all my best and possible endeavour to defend my self and my Vassals according to my duty, hoping not to have come to this estate and place where now I stand, and considering that you may doe with mee what you please, I beseech you to kill mee, and that is my onely request. *Cortez* comforted him with faire words, giving him hope of life; and tooke him up into a *Zatie*, requiring him to command his Subjects that yet held out, to yeeld and render themselves. Which *Quabutimoc* presently performed; and at that time after so many Prisoners taken, and so many thousands slain and starved, there were about threescore and ten thousand persons, who seeing their Prince a Prisoner, threw down their weapons and submitted themselves. Thus did *Hernando Cortez* winne the famous and stately City of *Mexico*, on the 13. day of *August*, Anno Dom. 1521. In remembrance whereof every yeere on that day they make in *Mexico* a sumptuous feast and solemne procession, wherein is carried the Standard Royall, with the which the City was wonne. In the losse of it was as much to be observed as Antiquity can produce of any Victory; wherein was one Emperour the greatest that ever was in those parts slain; and another as great a Warrior as ever *America* had knowne, taken Prisoner. The Siege endured from the time the Vergantines came from *Tlaxcallan* three moneths, and therein were on *Cortez* his side neer 200000 *Indians*, who daily increased and came in to help him, 900 *Spaniards*, fourescore horses onely, seventeen or eighteen Peeces of Ordnance; sixteen or as some say eighteen Vergantines, and at least 6000 *Canoes*. In this Siege were slain fifty *Spaniards* onely and six horses, and not above eight thousand of the *Indians* *Cortez* his friends. And on the *Mexicans* side were slaine at least a hundred, and twenty thousand *Indians*, besides those that died with hunger and Pestilence. At the defence of the City were all the Nobility, by reason whereof many of them were slaine. The multitude of people in the City was so great, that they were constrained to eat little, to drink salt water, and to sleep among the dead bodies, where was a horrible stench; and for these causes the disease of Pestilence fell among them, and thereof died an infinite number. Whereupon is to be considered their valour, and steadfast determination; for although they were afflicted with such hunger that they were driven to eat boughes, rindes of trees, and to drink salt water, yet would they not yeeld themselves. And here also is to be noted that although the *Mexicans* did eat mans flesh, yet they did eat none but such as were their enemies, for had they eaten one another and their owne children, there would not so many have died with hunger. The *Mexican* women were highly commended, not onely because they abode with their husbands and fathers, but also for the great paines they tooke with the sick and wounded persons; yea and also they laboured in making slings, cutting stones fit for the same, and throwing stones from the *Zoties*, for therein they did as much hurt as their men. The City was yeelded to the spoile, and the *Spaniards* tooke the gold, plate and feathers, the *Indian* friends had all the rest of cloth and other stuffe. Thus was that famous City ruined, and burnt by the *Spaniards*, and the power of that Nation brought under the *Spanish* subjection. *Cortez* having found the aire of that City very temperate and pleasant for mans life, and the situation commodiour, thought presently of rebuilding it, and of making it the chief Seat of Justice and Court for all that Country. But before I come to speake of it as rebuilt and now flourishing, I must adde unto what hath been said of *Montezuma* his former state and houses in it, the greatnesse of the Market place and Temple, which was in it, when the *Spaniards* ruined and destroyed it. The conveniency of the Lake about this City gave encouragement to the *Mexicans* to set apart a most spacious Market place, whither all the Country about might resort to buy, exchange and sell; which was the more easie for them by reason of the abundance of Boates which were made onely for such Trafficke.

fique. In this great lake there were at that time above two hundred thousand of these little boats, which the *Indians* call *Acales*, and the *Spaniards* call them *Conoes*, wrought like a kneading trough, some bigger then others according to the greatnesse of the body of the tree, whereof they are made. And where I number two hundred thousand of these boats, I speak of the least, for *Mexico* alone had above fifty thousand ordinarily to carry and bring unto the City victuall, provision, and passengers, so that on the market-daies all the streets of water were full of them. The Market is called in the *Indian* tongue *Tlanquitzili*; every parish had his Market place to buy and sell in; but *Mexico* and *Tlatelulco* only, which are the chiefest Cities, had great Fayres and places fit for the same; and especially *Mexico* had one place, where most dayes in the yeer was buying and selling; but every fourth day was the great Market ordinarily. This place was wide and large compassed about with dories, and was so great that a hundred thousand persons came thither to chop and change, as a City most principall in all that region. Every occupation and kind of merchandize had his proper place appointed, which no other might by any means occupie or disturb. Likewise pesterous wares had their place accordingly, such as stone, timber, lyme, bricke and all such kind of stufte unwrought, being necessary to build withall. Also mattes both fine and coarse, of sundry workmanship; also coales, wood, and all sorts of earthen vessells, glazed and painted very curiously. Deere skinner both raw and tanned in hair and without hair, of many colours, for Shoemakers, for bucklers, Targets, Jerkins, and lining of wooden corslets; also skinner of other beasts, and fowle in feathers ready dressed of all sorts. The colours and strangenesse thereof was a thing to behold. The richest merchandize was salt, and mantles of Cotton wool of divers colours, both great and small; some for beds, other for garments and clothing, other for Tapistry to hang houses; other Cotton-cloth was wont to be sold there for linnen drawers (which to this day the *Indians* use) for shirts, table cloths, towels, and such like things. There were also mantles made of the leaves of a tree called *Meli*, and of the Palme-tree and Conie-hair, which were well esteemed, being very warme, but the coverlets made of feathers were the best. They sold thred there made of Conie-haire, and also skains of other thred of all colours. But the great store of poultry which was brought to that Market was strange to see, and the uses they sold and bought them for; for although they did eat the flesh of the fowl, yet the feathers served for clothing, mixing one sort with another. But the chiefe bravery of that market was the place where gold and feathers joyntly wrought were sold; for any thing that was in request, was there lively wrought in gold and feathers and gallant colours. The *Indians* were so expert and perfect in this science, that they would work or make a butter-flie, any wild beast, trees, roses, flowers, hearbs, roots, or any other thing so lively that it was a thing marvellous to behold. It happened many times that one of these workemen in a whole day would eat nothing, only to place one feather in his due perfection, turning and tossing the feather to the light of the sunne, into the shade or darke place to see where was his most naturall perfection, and till his worke were finished he would neither eat nor drinke. There are few nations of so much sleame or substance. The art, or science of Gold-smiths among them was the most curious, and very good workmanship engraven with tooles made of flint or in mould. They will cast a platter in mould with eight corners, and every corner of severall metall, the one of gold, and the other of silver, without any kind of folder. They will also found or cast a little cauldron with loose handles hanging thereat, as we use to cast a bell; they will also cast in mould a fish of metall, with one scale of silver on his back, and another of gold; they will make a Parret or Poppingay of metall, that his tongue shall stroke, and his head move, and his wings flutter; they will cast an Ape in mould, that both hands and feet shall stirre, and hold a spindle in his hand seeming to spin, yea and an apple in his hand as though he would eat it. They have skill also of Amell work and to set any pretious stone. But now as touching the market, there was to sell gold, silver, Copper, Lead, Latten, and Tinne; although there was but very little of the three last metals mentioned. There were pearls, pretious stones, divers and sundry sorts of shelles, and bones, Sponges, and Pedlers ware. There were also many kind of herbes, roots, and seeds, as well to be eaten, as for medicine; for both men, women and children had great knowledge in herbs, for through poverty and necessity they did seeke them for their sustenance and help of their infirmities and diseases. They did spend little among Physitians, although

although there were some of that art, and many Apothecaries, who did bring into the market, oyntments, syrups, waters, and other drugs fit for sick persons. They cure all diseases almost with herbs; yea as much as for to kill lice they have a proper herb for the purpose. The severall kinds of meats to be sold was without number, as Snakes without head and tail, little dogges gelt, Moules, Rats, Long-wormes, Lyce, yea and a kind of earth; for at one season in the year they had Nets of Mayle, with the which they raked up a certaine dult that is bled upon the water of the lake of Mexico, and that is kneaded together like unto oas of the sea. They gathered much of this and kept it in heapes, and made thereof cakes like unto brick-bats. And they did not only sell this ware in the Market, but also sent it abroad to other Fayres and markets as farre off; and they did eat this meal with as good a stomack as we eat cheefe; yea and they hold opinion, that this skumme or fatnesse of the water is the cause that such great number of fowl cometh to the lake, which in the winter season is infinite. They sold likewise in this market Venison by quarters or whole, as Does, Hares, Conies, and Dogges, and many other beastes, which they brought up for the purpose and tooke in hunting. The great store of sundry kinds of fruits was marvellous, which were there sold, both green and ripe. There is a sort as bigge as an Almond called *Cacao* (whereof is the drinke called *Chocolatte* well known now in Christendome) which is both meat and currant money. In these times of the bigger sort sixscore or seven score, and of the lesser sort two hundred are worth a *Spanish* Riall, which is sixpence, and with these the *Indians* buy what they list, for five, nay for two *Cacao's* which is a very small part of a Riall, they doe buy fruits and the like. There were divers kinds of colours to be sold, which they made of roses, flowers, fruits, barks of trees, and other things very excellent. All the things recited, and many others which I speak not of, were sold in this great market, and in every other Market of Mexico; and all the sellers payed a certain summe for their shops or standings to the King, as a custome, and they were to be preserved and defended from thieves and robbers. And for that purpose there went Serjeants or Officers up and down the market to espie out malefactors. In the midst of this Market stood a house, which was to be seen throughout the Fayr, and there did sit commonly twelve ancient men for Judges to dispatch law matters. Their buying and selling was to change one ware for another, one gave a hen for a bundle of Maiz, others gave mantles for salt or money which was *Cacao*. They had measure and strike for all kind of corne, and other earthen measures for hony and oyle, and such wines as they made of Palme-trees, and other roots and trees. And if any measure were falsified, they punished the offenders and brake their measures. This was the civility they had when they were Heathens, for buying and selling. And although they knew not the true God, but worshipped Idols; yet to their Idols and to the Divell they dedicated Temples and places of worship, wherein they used those sacrifice which *David* speaks of in the 106. Ps. 37. saying, *They sacrificed their sonnes, and their daughters unto Devills.*

The Temple is called in the Mexican language *Tenacalli*, which is a compound word of *Tenutl*, which signifieth God, and *Calli*, which signifieth a house. There were in Mexico many parish Churches with towers, wherein were Chappels and Altars where the Images and Idols did stand. All their Temples were of one fashion, the like I believe was never seen nor heard of. And therefore it shall be now sufficient to describe the chiefe and greatest Temple, which was as their Cathedrall Church. This Temple was square, and did containe every way as much ground as a Crosse-bow can reach levell. It was made of stone, with four dores that abutted upon the three Cawseys, and upon another part of the City that had no Cawsey, but a fair street. In the midst of this Quadern stood a mount of earth and stone square likewise, and fifty sadome long every way, built upward like unto a pyramide of *Egypt*, saving that the top was not sharpe, but plain and flat, and ten sadom square. Upon the West side were steps up to the top, in number a hundred and fourteen, which being so many, high and made of good stone, did seeme a beautifull thing. It was a strange sight to behold the Preills, some going up, and some downe with ceremonies, or with men to be sacrificed. Upon the top of this Temple were two great Altars, a good space distant the one from the other, and so nigh the edge or brimme of the wall, that scarcely a man might go behind them at pleasure. The one Altar stood on the right hand, and the other on the left, they were but of five foot high; each of them had the back part made of

stone, painted with monstrous and foul figures. The Chappell was fair and well wrought of Masons work and timber; every Chappell had three lofts one above another, sustained upon pillars, and with the height thereof it shewed like unto a faire tower, and beautified the City as farre off. From thence a man might see all the City and Towns round about the lake, which was undoubtedly a goodly prospect. And because Cortez and his company should see the beauty thereof, *Adonizuma* himselfe (to make the more ostentation of his greatnesse and the Majesty of his Court) carried the first *Spaniards* thither, and shewed them all the order of the Temple, even from the foot to the top. There was a certain plot or space for the Idoll Preists to celebrate their service without disturbance of any. Their generall prayers were made toward the rising of the sunne; upon each Altar stood a great Idoll.

Besides this tower which stood upon the Pyramide, there were forty towers great and small belonging to other little Temples which stood in the same circuit; the which although they were of the same making, yet their prospect was not West-ward, but other waies, because there should be a difference betwixt the great Temple and them. Some of these Temples were bigger then others, and every one of a severall God; among the which there was one round Temple dedicated to the God of the ayre called *Quicalcavatl*; for even as the ayre goeth round about the heavens, even for that consideration they made his Temple round. The entrance of that Temple had a dore made like unto the mouth of a Serpent, and was painted with foule and divellish gestures, with great teeth and gummies wrought, which was a sight to fear those that should enter in thereat, and especially the Christians unto whom it repented hell it selfe with that ugly face and monstrous teeth. There were other *Tucallies* in the City, that had the ascending up by steps in three places; and all these Temples had houses by themselves with all service belonging to them, and Preists, and particular Gods. And from this manner of these Heathens Temples, and Altars made with steps, wee may observe how like unto them is now the Church of *Rome*, which as it confesseth that there never was a Church without a visible sacrifice, and therefore teacheth that Christs body must be broken upon their Altars, and distributed not only as a sacrament to the people, but as a sacrifice in the Preists hands, differing only that the sacrifices of Sheep and Oxen in the old law, and these of the Heathens were bloody sacrifices, but theirs of Christs body they call *Innocentium Sacrificium*, an unbloody sacrifice; so likewise in the buildings of their Churches with severall Towers and Altars and Chappels dedicated to severall Saints they seem to have taken from the very Heathens; but especially in the many steps whereby they ascend up to their Altars, they resemble these, forgetting Gods words in Exod. 20. 26. saying, *Neither shalt thou goe up by steps unto mine Altar, that thy nakednesse be not discovered thereon*. And lastly in their houses and cloisters joyning to their Churches for the service of them, being full of idolatrous Preists and Fryers consecrated for their service, they seem likewise to have borrowed that fancy of Convents, Abbeys, and Pories from the very Heathens, who (as presently I shall shew) had neer joyning to this great Temple, houses containing thousands of Preists, with yearly rents and revenues, like those of *Romes* Abbeys, and Cloisters. At every dore of this great Temple of *Mexico* stood a large hall, and goodly lodgings both high and low round about, which houses were common Armories for the City. The Heathens it seems had so much understanding as to know that the force and strength of a Towne, City, or Countrey is the Temple, and therefore they placed there their storehouse of munition.

They had other darke houses full of Idols great and small, wrought of sundry metals, which were all bathed and washed with blood, and did shew very blacke through their dayly sprinkling and anointing them with the same, when any man was sacrificed; yea and the walls were an inch thick with blood, and the ground a foot thick of it, so that there was a divellish stench. The Preists went dayly into those Oratories, and suffered none other but great personages to enter in. And when any such went in, they were bound to offer some man to be sacrificed, that those bloody hangmen and Ministers of the devill might wash their hands in the blood of those to be sacrificed, and might sprinkle their house therewith. For their service in the Kitchen they had a pond of water, that was filled once a year, which was brought by the Conduit pipes before mentioned, from the principall fountaine. All the residue of the foresaid circuit served for places to breed fowles, with gardens of herbs and sweet trees, with

with roses and flowers for the Altars; and this is also the Church of *Romes* custome and superstition, to trim and deck their Saints and Altars with Garlands and Crowns of Roses and other flowers. Such, so great and strange was this Temple of *Mexico*, for the service of the devill, who had deceived those simple *Indians*. There did reside (as I said before of Monkes and Fryers in their Cloisters joyning to their Churches) in this Temple and houses joyning to it, continually five thousand persons, and all these were lodged and had their living there; for that Temple was marvellous rich, and had divers Townes onely for their maintenance, and reparation, and were bound to sustaine the same alwaies on foot. These Townes did sow corn, and maintain all these five thousand persons with bread, fruit, flesh, fish, and firewood as much as they needed, for they spent more firewood then was spent in the Kings Court. These persons did live like *Romes* Abby-lubbers at their hearts ease, as servants and vassals unto the Gods, which were many; and every God had severall rankes and Orders of Preists to serve him; as the severall Saints canonized by the Popes of *Rome* have under them distinct Religious Orders of Preists, Dominick hath Dominicans, Francis Franciscans, Benedict Benedictines, Basil Basilians, Bernard Bernardines, Augustin Augustines, and the like.

The Gods of *Mexico* (as the *Indians* reported to the first *Spaniards*) were two thousand in number; the chiefest were *Vitzilopuehli*, and *Tezcatlipuca*, whose Images stood highest in the Temple upon the Altars. They were made of stone in full proportion as bigge as a Gyant. They were covered with a lawne called *Nacar*; they were beset with pearles, pretious stones, and peeces of gold, wrought like birds, beasts; fishes, and flowers, adorned with Emeralds, Turquies, Chalcedons, and other little fine stones, so that when the lawne was taken away, the Images seemed very beautiful and glorious to behold. But must I find out *Rome* still among these heathens? and will the Papists bee angry if I tell them plainly that what I mislike in these Idolatrous *Mexicans*, I mislike in them? for do not they deck and adorn their Idol Saints, as the heathens did *Vitzilopuehli* and *Tezcatlipuca*? Do not they cover their wooden and stony statues of Saints, and of the Virgin *Mary* with fine lawne shirts, and hide them with curtaines of cloth of Gold, and crowne them with Crowns of Silver and Gold, and enrich them with costly and pretious Jewels and Diamonds; not considering that they are the workes of their owne hands? *Ad quid perditio hæc? poterant enim venumdari, & dari pauperibus.* These two *Indian* Idols had for a girdle great snakes of gold, and for collars or chaines about their necks ten hearts of men made of gold; and each of them had a counterfeite Visor with eyes of glasse, and in their necks Death painted. These two Gods were brethren, for *Tezcatlipuca* was the God of Providence, and *Vitzilopuehli*, God of the Warres; who was worshipped and feared more then all the rest. There was another God, who had a great Image placed upon the top of the chappell of Idols, and hee was esteemed for a speciall and singular God above all the rest. This God was made of all kind of seeds that grow in that Countrey, which being ground, they made a certain paste tempered with childrens blood and Virgins sacrificed, who were opened with rasors in their breasts, and their hearts taken out, to offer as first fruits unto the Idoll. The Preists consecrate this Idoll with great pompe and many Ceremonies. All the *Comarcans* and Citizens were present at the Consecration with great triumph and incredible devotion. After the Consecration many devout persons came and ticked in the dowy Image pretious stones, wedges of gold, and other Jewels. And after all this pompe ended, no secular man might touch that holy Image; no nor yet come into his Chappel; nay scarcely religious persons, except they were *Tlmacacstli*, who were Preists of Order. They did renew this Image many times with new dough, taking away the old. And then (like againe unto the Papists, who think themselves happy with their Saints reliques, though ragges or bones) blessed was hee that could get one peece of the old ragges, or a peece of the old dough, for the which there was most earnest suites made by the Souldiers, who thought themselves sure therewith in the Warres. Also at the Consecration of this Idoll, a certaine vessell of water was blessed with many words and ceremonies (peradventure from this heathenish Ceremonie came the superstitious holy water to *Rome*) and that water was preserved very religiously at the foot of the Altar, for to consecrate the King when hee should bee crowned, and also to blesse any Captaine General, when hee should be elected for the Wars, with onely giving him a draught

of that water. And as the *Romish* Church makes much of their dead mens skulles and rotten bones, laying them up in their Churchyards under some arches made for that purpose in the Church walls, even so was it here in *Mexico*; for without this Temple, and over against the principall doore thereof, a stones cast distant stood a Charnell house onely of dead mens heads, prisoners in Warres and sacrificed with the knife. This monument was made like unto a Theatre, more large then broad, wrought of lime and stone, with ascending steps; in the walls whereof was grafted betwixt stone and stone a skull with the teeth outwards. At the foot and head of this Theatre, were two towers made onely of lime and skulles, the teeth outward, which having no other stuffe in the wall seemed a strange sight. At and upon the top of the Theatre were therefore and ten poles, standing the one from the other foure or five foot distant, and each of them was full of staves from the foot to the top. Each of these staves had others made fast unto them, and every one of them had five skulles broched through the temples. When the *Spaniards* first entred into *Mexico* as friends before the death of *Montezuma* they visited all these monuments; and in what they have written and transmitted to posterity of that City, it is recorded of one *Andrew de Tapia*, and *Gonzales de Umbria* that one day they did reckon these skulles, and found a hundred thirly and six thousand skulles on the poles, staves and steps. The other Towers were replenished out of number; and there were men appointed, that when one skull fell, to set up another in his place, so that the number might never want. But all these Towers and Idols were pulled down, and consumed with fire, when the *Spaniards* wanne that City. And certainly they had beene more renowned in destroying those Altars of the devill and those Idoll Gods, if in their stead they had not set up new Idols and Saintes of stockes and stones, and built unto them as many more Churches as they found at their coming thither. All therefore that hath been mentioned hitherto of *Montezuma* his houses and Gardens, of the spacious Market place, and Temples of that City was utterly destroyed and brought downe to the very ground. But *Cortez* reedified it againe, not onely for the situation and majesty, but also for the name and great fame thereof. Hee divided it among the Conquerours, having first taken out places for Churches, Market places, Towne house and other necessary plots to build houses, profitable for the Common-wealth. Hee separated the dwellings of the *Spaniards* from the *Indians*, so that now the water passeth and maketh division betwixt them. Hee promised to them that were naturalls of the City of *Mexico* plots to build upon, inheritance, freedome, and other liberties, and the like unto all those that would come and inhabit there, which was a meanes to allure many thither. Hee set also at liberty *Xibnace*, the Generall Captaine, and made him chief over the *Indians* in the City, unto whom hee gave a whole street. He gave likewise another street to *Don Pedro Montezuma* who was sonne to *Montezuma* the King. All this was done to winne the favour of the people. Hee made other Gentlemen Seniors of little Islands, and streets to build upon, and to inhabit, and in this order the whole situation was repared, and the work began with great joy and diligence. And when the fame was blowne abroad that *Mexico* should bee built againe, it was a wonder to see the people that resorted thither hearing of liberty and freedome. The number was so great that in three miles compass was nothing but people men and women. They laboured sore and did eat little, by reason whereof many sickned, and pestilence ensued, whereof died an infinite number. Their paines was great, for they bare on their backs, and drew after them stones, earth, timber, lyme, brick, and all other things necessary in this sort; And by little and little *Mexico* was built againe with a hundred thousand houses, more strong and better then the old building was. The *Spaniards* built their houses after the *Spanish* fashion; and *Cortez* built his house upon the plot where *Montezuma* his house stood, which renteth now veerely foure thousand ducketts, and is called now the Palace of the Marques *Del Valle*, the King of *Spain* having conferred upon *Cortez* and his heires this title from the great Valley of *Guanaxaca*. This Palace is so stately that (as I have observed before) seven thousand beames of Cedar Trees were spent in it. They built faire Dockes covered over with Arches for the Vergantines; which Dockes for a perpetuall memory doe remaine untill this day. They dammed up the streets of water, where now faire houses stand, so that *Mexico* is not as it was wont to bee, and especially since the yeare 1634. the water cometh not by farre so neere the City as it was wont to come.

The

The Lake sometimes casteth out a vapour of stench, but otherwise it is a wholesome and temperate dwelling, by reason of the Mountaines that stand round about it, and well provided through the fertility of the Countrey, and commodity of the Lake. So that now is *Mexico* one of the greatest Cities in the World in extension of the situation for *Spanish* and *Indian* houses. Not many yeeres after the Conquest it was the Noblest City in all *India* as well in Armes as Policy. There were formerly at the least two thousand Citizens, that had each of them his horse in his stable with rich furniture for them, and Armes in readinesse. But now since all the *Indians* farre and neere are subdued, and most of them especially about *Mexico* consumed, and there is no feare of their rising up any more against the *Spaniards*, all armes are forgotten, and the *Spaniards* live so secure from enemies, that there is neither Gate, Wall, Bulwarke, Platforme, Tower, Armory, Ammunition, or Ordnance to secure and defend the City from a Domestick or forraigne enemy; from the latter they thinke *St. John de Ulbua* sufficient and strong enough to secure them. But for Contrafaction it is one of the richest Cities in the World, to the which by the North Sea commeth every year from *Spain* a Fleet of neere twenty ships laden with the best Commodities not onely of *Spain* but of the most parts of Christendome. And by the South Sea it enjoyeth Traffique from all parts of *Peru*, and above all it Trades with the *East-Indies*, and from thence receiveth the Commodities as well from those parts which are inhabited by *Portingals*, as from the Countries of *Japan* and *China*, sending every yeere two great *Caracks* with two smaller Vessels to the Islands of *Philippinas*, and having every yeere a returne of such like ships. There is also in *Mexico* a Mint house where Money is dayly coyned, and is brought thither in wedges upon Mules from the Mines called *St. Lewis de Sacatecas*, standing fourescore Leagues from *Mexico* Northward, and yet from *Sacatecas* forward have the *Spaniards* entred above a hundred Leagues conquering daily *Indians*, where they discover store of Mines, and there they have built a City, called *Nova Mexico*, new *Mexico*. The *Indians* there are great Warriors, and hold the *Spaniards* hard to it. It is thought the *Spaniard* will not be satisfied, untill hee subdue all the Country that way, which doubtlesse reacheth to our plantations of *Virginia* and the rest being the same continued continent land. There is yet more in *Mexico*, a faire schoole, which now is made an University, which the Viceroy *Don Antonio De Mendoza* caused to be built. At the rebuilding of this City there was a great difference betwixt an Inhabitant of *Mexico*, and a Conquerour; for a Conquerour was a name of honour, and had lands and rents given him and to his posterity by the King of *Spain*, and the Inhabitant or onely dweller payed rent for his house. And this hath filled all those parts of *America* with proud *Dons* and Gentlemen to this day; for every one will call himselfe a descendent from a Conquerour, though hee bee as poore as *Job*; and aske him what is become of his Estate and fortune, hee will answer that fortune hath taken it away, which shall never take away a *Don* from him. Nay a poore Cobler, or Carrier that runs about the Countrey farre and neere getting his living with half a dozen Mules, if hee bee called *Mendoza*, or *Cuzman*, will swear that hee descended from those *Dukes* houses in *Spain*, and that his Grand-Father came from thence to Conquer, and subdued whole Countries to the Crowne of *Spain*, though now fortune have frowned upon him, and covered his ragges with a thredbare Cloake. When *Mexico* was rebuilt, and Judges, Aldermen, Attorneys, Towne Clerks, Notaries, Skavengers, and Serjeants with all other Officers necessary for the Common-weale of a City were appointed, the fame of *Cortez* and majesty of the City was blowne abroad into faire Provinces, by means whereof it was soone replenished with *Indians* againe, and with *Spaniards* from *Spain*, who soone conquered above foure hundred Leagues of Land, being all governed by the Princely Seat of *Mexico*. But since that first rebuilding, I may say it is now rebuilt the second time by *Spaniards*, who have consumed most of the *Indians*; so that now I will not dare to say there are a hundred thousand houses which soone after the Conquest were built up, for most of them were of *Indians*. Now the *Indians* that livethere, live in the suburbs of the City, and their situation is called *Guadalupe*. In the year 1625. when I went to those parts, this Suburbe was judged to containe fivethousand Inhabitants; But since most of them have beene consumed by the *Spaniards* hard usage and the worke of the Lake. So that now there may not bee above two thousand Inhabitants of meere *Indians*, and a thousand of such

as they call there *Mestizos*, who are of a mixt nature of *Spaniards* and *Indians*, for many poore *Spaniards* marry with *Indian* women, and others that marry them not but hate their husbands, find many trickes to convey away an innocent *Uriab* to enjoy his *Bathsteba*. The *Spaniards* daily couzen them of the small plot of ground where their houses stand, and of three or foure houses of *Indians* build up one good and fair house after the *Spanish* fashion with Gardens and Orchards. And so is almost all *Mexico* new built with very faire and spacious houses with Gardens of recreation. Their buildings are with stone, and brick very strong, but not high, by reason of the many Earth-quakes, which would indanger their houses if they were above three stories high. The streets are very broad, in the narrowest of them three Coaches may goe, and in the broader fix may goe in the breadth of them, which makes the City seeme a great deale bigger then it is. In my time it was thought to bee of betweene thirty and forty thousand Inhabitants *Spaniards*, who are so proud and rich, that half the City was judged to keepe Coaches, for it was a most credible report that in *Mexico* in my time there were above fifteen thousand Coaches. It is a by-word that at *Mexico* there are foure things faire, that is to say, the women, the apparell, the horses, and the streets. But to this I may adde the beauty of some of the Coaches of the gentry, which doe exceed in cost the best of the Court of *Madrid* and other parts of Christendome; for there they spare no Silver, nor Gold, nor pretious stones, nor Cloath of Gold, nor the best Silkes from *China* to enrich them. And to the gallantry of their horses the pride of some doth adde the cost of bridles, and shoes of silver. The streets of Christendome must not compare with those in breadth and cleanness, but especially in the riches of the shops which doe adorn them. Above all the Goldsmiths shops and workes are to be admired. The *Indians*, and the people of *China* that have been made Christians and every yeere comethither, have perfected the *Spaniards* in that Trade. The Viceroy that went thither the yeere 1625. caused a *Popingay* to be made of silver, gold, and pretious stones with the perfect colours of the *Popingays* feathers, (a bird bigger then a pheasant) with such exquisite art and perfection, to present unto the King of *Spain*, that it was prized to bee worth in riches and workmanship halfe a Million of Duckats. There is in the Cloister of the Dominicans a lampe hanging in the Church with three hundred branches wrought in silver to hold so many Candles, besides a hundred little lampes for oyle set in it, every one being made with severall wormanship so exquisitely, that it is valued to be worth four hundred thousand duckats, and with such like curious workes are many streets made more rich and beautiful from the shops of Goldsmiths. To the by-word touching the beauty of the women I must adde the liberty they enjoy for gaming, which is such that the day and night is to short for them to end a *Primera* when once it is begun; nay gaming is so common to them that they invite gentlemen to their houses for no other end. To my self it happened that passing along the streets in company with a Fryer that came with me that yeare from *Spain*, a gentlewoman of great birth knowing us to be *Chapetons* (so they call the first yeer those that come from *Spain*) from her window called unto us, and after two or three slight questions concerning *Spain* asked us if wee would come in and play with her a Game at *Primera*. Both men and women are excessive in their apparell, using more silkes then stufes and cloth; pretious Stones and Pearles further much this their vaine ostentation; a hat-band and rose made of Diamonds in a Gentlemans hat is common, and a hat-band of Pearles is ordinary in a Tradesman; nay a Blackmore or Tauny young maide and slave will make hard shift but shee will bee in fashion with her Neckchaine and Bracelets of Pearles, and her Eare-bobs of some considerable Jewels. The attire of this baser sort of people of Blackmores and Mulattas (which are of a mixt nature, of *Spaniards* and Blackmores) is so light, and their carriage so enticing, that many *Spaniards* even of the better sort (who are too prone to Vencry) disdain their Wives for them. Their cloathing is a Petticoat, of Silk or Cloth, with many silver or golden Laces, with a very broad double Ribband of some light colour with long silver or golden Tags hanging down before, the whole length of their Petticoat to the ground, and the like behind; their Wascots made like bodies, with skirts, laced likewise with gold or silver, without sleeves, and a girdle about their body of great price stuck with Pearls and knots of Gold, (if they bee any waies well esteemed of) their sleeves are broad and open at the end, of *Holland* or fine *China* linnen, wrought some with coloured silkes, some with silke and gold, some with

with silk and silver, hanging downe almost unto the ground; the locks of their heads are covered with some wrought quoyte, & over it another of net work of silk bound with a fair silk, or silver or golden ribband which crosseth the upper part of their forehead, and hath commonly worked out in letters some light and foolish loveposie; their bare black and tawny breasts are covered with bobs hanging from their chaines of pearls; And when they goe abroad, they use a white mantle of lawne or cambricke rounded with a broad lace, which some put over their heads, the breadth reaching only to their middle behind, that their girdle and ribbands may be seen, and the two ends before reaching to the ground almost; others cast their mantles only upon their shoulders, and swaggerers like, cast the one end over the left shoulder, that they may the better jog the right arme, and shew their broad sleeve as they walke along; others instead of this mantle use some rich silke petticoat, to hang upon their left shoulder, while with their right arm they support the lower part of it, more like roaring boyes then honest civil maids. Their shooes are high & of many soles, the outside whereof of the prophane sort are plated with a list of silver, which is fastned with small nailles of broad silver heads. Most of these are or have been slaves, though love have set them loose at liberty, to inflame souls to sinne and Satan. And there are so many of this kind both men and women growne to a height of pride and vanity, that many times the Spaniards have feared they would rise up and mutiny against them. And for the loosenesse of their lives, and publike scandalls committed by them and the better sort of the Spaniards, I have heard them say often who have professed more religion and feare of God, they verily thought God would destroy that City, and give up the Countrey into the power of some other nation.

I will not relate particulars of their obscene and scandalous, yea and publike carriages, which would offend my Readers patience, and make his eares to tingle; only I say, certainly God is offended with that second Sodom, whose inhabitants though now they be like the green bay-tree flourishing with jewels, pearles, gold, silver, and all worldly pleasures, *They shall some be cut downe like the grasse and wither as the green herbe*, Ps. 37. 2. And though their great Master and Cardinall *Belarmine* make outward happinesse and flourishing a marke and note of a true Church and Congregation of Gods people: and of my selve I could say wick David in the 73. Ps. 2, 3. when I lived blindly amongst them, *My feet were almost gone, my steps had well-nigh slipped; for I was envious at the foolish, when I saw the prosperity of the wicked; yet now being enlightned in a more sure and certaine truth, I will conclude of them, as David of the flourishing wicked men of his time in the same Chapter the 16, 17, 18. v. When I thought to know this, it was too painfull for mee, untill I went into the Sanctuary of God, then understood I their end. Surely thou didst set them in slippery places, thou callest them downe to destruction*. And I doubt not but the flourishing of Mexico in coaches, horses, streets, women, and apparell is very slippery, and will make those proud inhabitants slip and fall into the power and dominion of some other Prince of this world, and hereafter in the world to come, into the powerfull hands of an angry Judge, who is the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, which Paul saith Heb. 10. 31. *it is a fearful thing*. For this City doth not only flourish in the waies aforesaid, but also in their superstitious worshipping of God and Saints, they exceed Rome it selfe, and all other places of Christendome. And it is a thing which I have very much and carefully observed in all my travailes both in Europe and in America, that in those Cities wherein there is most lewd licentiousnesse of life, there is also most cost in the Temples, and most publike superstitious worshipping of God and of the Saints.

It seems that religion teacheth that all wickednesse is allowable, so the Chukes and Clergy flourish; nay while the purse is open to lasciviousnesse, if it be likewise opened to enrich the temple walls and roofes, this is better then any their holy water to wash away the filth of the other. Rome is held to be the head of superstition; and what stately Churches, Chappels, and Cloisters are in it? what fastings, what processions, what appearances or devotion? and on the other side, what liberty, what profanenesse, what whoredomes, nay what finnes of Sodom are committed in it? In so much that it could be the saying of a Fryer to my selfe while I was in it, that he verily thought there was no one City in the world wherein were more Atheists then in Rome. I might shew this truth in Madrid, Seville, Valladolid, and other famous Cities in Spaine, and in Italy, in Milan, Genoa and Naples, relating many instances of scandalls

committed in those places, and yet the Temples mightily enriched by such who have thought those alms a sufficient warrant to free them from hell & Purgatory. But I must return to *Mexico* which is *mille testes* of this truth, sin and wickednesse abounding in it; and yet no such people in the world toward the Church and Clergy, who in their life time strive to exceed one another in their gifts to the Cloisters of Nuns and Friars, some erecting Altars to their best devoted Saints, worth many thousand thousand ducats, others presenting crowns of gold to the pictures of *Mary*, others lamps, others golden chains, others building Cloisters at their own charge, others repairing them, others at their death leaving to them two or three thousand ducats for an annuall stipend. Among these great Benefactors to the Churches of that City I should wrong my History if I should forget one that lived in my time, called *Alonso Cuellar*, who was reported to have a Closet in his house laid with bars of gold in stead of bricks, though indeed it was not so, but only reported for his abundant riches and store of bars of gold which he had in one chest standing in a closet distant from another, where he had a chest full of wedges of silver. This man alone built a Nunery of Franciscan Nuns, which stood him in above thirty thousand ducats, and left unto it for the maintainance of the Nuns two thousand ducats yearly, with obligation of some masses to be said in the Church every year for his soule after his decease. And yet this mans life was so scandalous, that commonly in the night with two servants he would round the City, visiting such scandalous persons whose attire before hath been described, carrying his beads in his hands, and at every house letting fall a beade and tying a false knot, that when he came home in the morning towards breake of the day he might number by his beades the unciuil stations he had walked and visited that night. But these his works of darkenesse came to light, and were published farre and neer for what happened unto him whilst I was in *Mexico*; for one night meeting at one of his stations with a gentleman that was jealous of him, swords on both sides were drawne, the Concubine first was stabbed by the Gentleman who was better manned and attended; and *Cuellar* (who was but a Merchant) was mortally wounded and left for dead, though afterwards he recovered. Great Almes and liberality towards religious houses in that City commonly are coupled with great and scandalous wickednesse. They wallow in the bed of riches and wealth, and make their Almes the Coverlet to cover their loose and lascivious lives. From hence are the Churches so fairly built and adorned. There are not above fifty Churches and Chappels, Cloisters and Nunneries, and Parish Churches in that City; but those that are there are the fairest that ever my eyes beheld, the roofes and beams being in many of them all daubed with gold, and many Altars with sundry marble pillars, and others with Brasil wood staves standing one above another with Tabernacles for several Saints richly wrought with golden colours, so that twenty thousand ducats is a common price of many of them. These cause admiration in the common sort of people, and admiration brings on daily adoration in them to those glorious spectacles and images of Saints; so Satan shewes Christ all the glory of the Kingdomes to intice him to admiration, and then *All these things will I give thee if thou wilt fall downe and worship mee*, Mat. 4. 8, 9. The devill will give all the world to be adored.

Besides these beautifull buildings, the inward riches belonging to the Altars are infinite in price and value, such as Copes, Canopies, hangings, Altar cloths, Candlesticks, Jewels belonging to the Saints, and crownes of gold and silver, and Tabernacles of gold and Crystall to carry about their sacrament in Procession, all which would mount to the worth of a reasonable mine of silver, and would be a rich prey for any nation that could make better use of wealth and riches. I will not speake much of the lives of the Fryers and Nuns of that City, but only that there they enjoy more liberty then in the parts of *Europe* (where yet they have too much) and that surely the scandals committed by them doe cry up to heaven for vengeance, judgement, and destruction.

In my time in the Cloister of the Mercenarian Fryers which is entituled for the Redemption of Captives, there chanced to be an election of a Provinciaall to rule over them, to the which all the Priors and heads of the Cloisters about the countrey had resorted, and such was their various and factious difference, that upon the suddain all the Convent was in an uproare, their canonick election was turned to mutiny and strife, knives were drawn, many wounded, the scandall and danger of murder so great,

great, that the Viceroy was faine to interpose his authority and to sit amongst them and guard the Cloister unill their Provinciaall was elected. It is ordinary for the Fryers to visit their devoted Nuns, and to spend whole daies with them, hearing their mulicke, feeding on their sweet meats, and for this purpose they have many chambers which they call *Logunorios*, to talke in, with wooden bars between the Nuns and them, and in these chambers are tables for the Friars to dine at; and while they dine, the Nuns recreate them with their voices. Gentlemen and Citizens give their daughters to be brought up in these Nunneries, where they are taught to make all sorts of conserves and preserves, all sorts of needle worke, all sorts of musick, which is so exquisite in that City, that I dare be bold to say, that the people are drawne to their Churches more for the delight of the musick, then for any delight in the service of God. More, they teach these young children to act like players, and to entice the people to their Churches make these children to act short dialogues in their *Quires*, richly attiring them with mens and womens apparell, especially upon Midsummer day; and the eight daies before their Christmas, which is so gallantly performed, that many factious strifes, and single combates have been, and some were in my time, for defending which of these Nunneries most excelled in musick, and in the training up of children. No delights are wanting in that City abroad in the world, nor in their Churches, which should be the house of God, and the soules, not the senses delight.

The chiefe place in the City is the Market place, which though it be not as spacious as in *Montezuma* his time, yet is at this day very faire and wide, built all with Arches on the one side where people may walke dry in time of raine, and there are shops of Merchants furnished with all sorts of stufes and silkes, and before them sit women selling all manner of fruits and herbes; over against these shops and Arches is the Viceroy his palace, which taketh up almost the whole length of the market with the walls of the house and of the gardens belonging to it. At the end of the Viceroy his palace, is the chiefe prison which is strong of stone worke. Next to this is the beautiful street called *la plateria*, or Gold-smiths street, where a mans eyes may behold in lesse then an houre many millions worth of gold, silver, pearles and jewells. The street of *St. Austin* is rich and comely, where live all that trade in silkes; but one of the longest and broadest streets is the street called *Tacuba*, where almost all the shops are of Ironmongers, and of such as deale in bras and steel, which is joyning to those Arches whereon the water is conveyed into the City, and is so called for that it is the way out of the City to a Towne called *Tacuba*; and this street is mentioned farre and neer, not so much for the length and breadth of it, as for a small commodity of needles which are made there, and for proove are the best of all those parts. For stately buildings the street called *del Aquila*, the street of the eagle, exceeds the rest, where live Gentlemen, and Courtiers, and Judges belonging to the Chancery; and is the palace of the Marquesse *del Valle* from the line of *Ferdinando Cortez*; this street is so called from an old Idoll an Eagle of stone which from the conquest lieth in a corner of that street, and is twice as big as *London* stone. The gallants of this City shew themselves daily some on Horse-back, and most in Coaches about four of the clock in the afternoone in a pleasant shady field, called *la Alameda*, full of trees and walkes, somewhat like unto our More-fields, where doe meet as constantly as the Merchants upon our Exchange about two thousand Coaches, full of Gallants, Ladies; and Citizens, to see and to be seen, to court and to be courted, the Gentlemen having their train of black-mor slaves some a dozen, some halfe a dozen waiting on them, in brave and gallant Liveries, heavy with gold and silver lace, with silke stockings on their black legs, and rosetes on their feet, and swords by their sides; the Ladies also carry their traine by their coaches side of such jet-like Damosells as before have been mentioned for their light apparell, who with their bravery and white mantles over them seem to be, as the *Spaniard* saith, *mosca en leche*, a flie in milke. But the train of the Viceroy who often goeth to this place is wonderfull stately, which some say is as great as the train of his Master the King of *Spain*. At this meeting are carried about many sorts of sweet-meats and papers of comites to be sold, for to relish a cup of coole water, which is cried about in curious glasses, to coole the blood of those love hot gallants. But many times these their meetings sweetned with conserves and comits have sowre sawce at the end, for jealousy will not suffer a Lady to be courted, no nor sometimes to be spoken to, but puts fury into the violent hand to draw a sword or dagger and to stab or murder whom he was jealous

jealous of, and when one sword is drawne thousands are presently drawne, some to right the party wounded or murdered; others to defend the party murdering, whose friends will not permit him to be apprehended, but will guard him with drawn swords untill they have conveyed him to the Sanctuary of some Church, from whence the Viceroy his power is not able to take him for a legall tryall.

Many of these suddain skirmishes happened whilst I lived about *Mexico*: of which City a whole volume might be compiled, but that by other Authors much hath beene written, and I desire not to fill my History with trifles, but onely with what is most remarkable in it. I may not omit yet from the situation of it upon a lake to tell that certainly the water hath its passage under all the streets of it; for toward the street of *St. Austin* and the lower parts of the City, I can confidently averre that in my time before the removing of the Lake those that died were rather drowned then buried, for a grave could not be digged with an ordinary graves depth, but they met with water, and I was eye-witnesse of many thus buried, whose coffins was covered with water. And this is so apparent that had not the Cloister of the *Augustines* often been repaired and almost rebuilt, it had quite sunk by this. In my time it was a repairing, and I saw the old pillars had sunk very low, upon the which they were then laying new foundations, and I was credibly informed that that was the third time that new pillars had been erected upon the old which were quite sunk away. This City hath but three wayes to come unto it by Cawley; the one is from the West, and that Cawley is a mile and a halfe long. Another from the North, and containeth three miles in length. Eastward the City hath no entry; but Southward the Cawley is five miles long, which was the way that *Cortez* entred into it, when hee conquered it.

The fruit called *Nuchili* (whereof I have spoken before, and some say this City was called *Tenuchtilan* from it) though it be in most parts of *America*, yea and now in *Spain*, yet in no place there is more abundance of it then in *Mexico*, and it is absolutely one of the best fruits in it. It is like unto the Figge, and so hath many little kernels or grains within, but they are somewhat larger, and crowned like unto a Medler. There are of them of sundry colours, some are green without, and carnation-like within, which have a good taste. Others are yellow, and others white, and some speckled; the best sort are the white; It is a fruit that will last long. Some of them taste of Pears, and other some of Grapes; It is a cold and a fresh fruit and best esteemed in the heat of summer. The *Spaniards* doe more esteem them then the *Indians*. The more the ground is laboured where they grow, the fruit is so much the better. There is yet another kind of this fruit red, and that is nothing so much esteemed, although his taste is not evill; but because it doth colour and dye the eaters mouth, lips and apparel, yea and maketh the Urine looke like pure blood. Many *Spaniards* at their first comming into *India*, and eating this fruit, were amazed and at their wits end, thinking that all the blood in their bodies came out in Urine; yea and many Physicians at their first comming were of the same belief. And it hath happened when they have been sent for unto such as have eaten this fruit, they not knowing the cause, and beholding the Urine, by and by they have administered medicines to staunch blood; a thing to laugh at, to see Physicians so deceived. The skinne of the outside is thick and full of little small prickles, and when it is cut downeright with one cut to the kernels, with one finger you may uncleave the whole skin round about without breaking it, & take out the fruit to eat. The *Spaniards* use to jest with it with strangers, taking half a dozen of them, and rubbing them in a napkin, those small prickles which can scarce be seen or perceived stick invisibly unto the napkin, wherewith a man wiping his mouth to drink, those little prickles stick in his lips so that they seeme to sow them up together, and make him for a while faulter in his speech, till with much rubbing and washing they come off. There is another fruit twice of the bignesse of a great warden, which they call the growing *Manjar Blanco*, or white meat, which is a dainty dish made by them with the white of a Capon, Cream, and Rice, and sugar and sweet waters, much like unto the which tasteth this fruit. It is as sweet as any hony, and dissolves like melted snow in the mouth into a juyce most luscious; within, it is full of hard black kernels or stones, which being cracked are bitter, and these not joyned together, but by division one from another, each one having a bag, or little skin discerning them in their rankes and orders, so that when you cut this fruit in the middle it represents a Chequer board with black and white; the white is sucked or eaten and the kernels throw away.

away. But I cannot forget that which they call *Pinia*, or Pine apple; not the Pine apple of the high Pine tree, but a pine apple, that groweth upon a lower shrub with prickly leaves, and is bigger then our biggest Muskmillians in England, when it is ripe, it is yellow without and withing, without it is full of little bunches, and within so juyce and cool that nothing more dangerous then to eat much of it. Before they eat it, they cut it in round slices, and lay it a while in salt and water, and so being scoured half an hour in that salt and water which taketh much of the rawnes and coldnes from it, and then putting into dishes with more fresh water they eat it thus. But the better way of eating it, is preserved, which is absolutely the best preserve in all that Countrey. There is also the Grape, (though they make not wine of it) the Apple, the Pear, the Quince, the Peach, the Apricock, the Pom-granate, the Muskmillian, the Plantin, the Figge, the Walnut, the Chesnut, the Orange, the Lemmon both sowre and sweet, the Citron in great abundance. Most of the fruits of *Europe*, and as many more which *Europe* never knew. About *Mexico* more then in any other part groweth that excellent tree called *Mel*, which they plant and dresse as they doe their Vines in *Europe*. It hath neere forty kindes of leaves, which serve for many uses; for when they bee tender they make of them Conserve, Paper, Flax, Mantles, Mats, Shooes, girdles, and cordage. On these leaves grow certaine prickles so strong and sharpe that they use them in stead of sawes: from the root of this tree cometh a juyce like unto syrup, which being todde will become Sugar. You may also make of it Wine and Vineger. The *Indians* often become drunke with it. The rind roasted healeth hurts and sores, and from the top boughs issueth a gumme, which is an excellent antidote against poyson. There is nothing in *Mexico* and about it wanting which may make a City happy; and certainly had those that have so much extolled with their pens the parts of *Granada* in *Spain*, *Lombardy* and *Florence* in *Italy*, making them the earthly Paradise, had they bene acquainted with the new World and with *Mexico*, they would have recanted their untruths.

Oh that the Lord were truly worshiped where hee hath powred forth the treasures of his goodnesse for the children of men! Oh that in that *Eden* the tempting and enticing Serpent were not so much obeyed in the use of the faire seeming Apple of pleasures, and the Lord that hath enriched it with such varieties so much neglected! How long O Lord God, how long shall the line of the wicked flourish, and the best portion be fallen to Idolaters and to the workers of iniquity?

This City is the seat of an Archbishop, and of a Viceroy, who commonly is some great Noble man of *Spain*, whose power is to make Lawes and Ordinances, to give directions, and determine controversies, unless it bee in such great causes, which are thought fit to bee referred to the Councell of *Spain*. And though there bee about the Country many governments with severall Governours, yet they are all subordinate to this Viceroy, and there are at least foure hundred leagues of land all governed by the Princely seat of *Mexico*. Most of the Governours about the Country being the Viceroy his Creatures, placed by him, doe contribute great gifts and bribes for their preferment; so likewise doe all the rest whose right or wrong proceedings depend upon the Viceroy his clemency and mercy in judging the daily appeales of Justice which come unto him. The King of *Spain* allowes him out of his Exchequer yearly a hundred thousand Duckats whilest hee governes; his time being but five yeers. But commonly with their bribes to the Courtiers of *Spain*, and to the Counsellours for the Estate of the *Indias* they get a prorogation of five yeeres more, and sometimes of ten. It is incredible to think what this Viceroy may get a yeer in that place besides his hundred thousand duckats of rent, if hee bee a man covetous and given to trading, (as most of them are) for then they will bee Masters of what commodities they please, and none else shall deale in them but themselves; as did the Marquesse of *Serralvo* in my time, who was the best Monopolist of salt that ever those parts knew. This man was thought to get a Millian a yeer, what with gifts and presents, what with his Trading to *Spain* and *Philippinas*. He governed ten yeeres, and in this time he sent to the King of *Spain* a *Poppingay* worth halfe a Million, and in one year more he sent the worth of a Million to the Count of *Olivares*, and other Courtiers to obtain a prorogation for five yeeres more. Besides the Viceroy there are commonly six Judges and a Kings Attorney, who are allowed out of the Kings Exchequer yearly twelve thousand duckats a peice rent, besides two *Alcaldes de Corte*, or high Justices, who with the Viceroy judge all Chancery and criminall causes. But these (though united together

gether they may oppose the Viceroy in any unlawfull and unjustifiable action, as some have done and have smarted for it, yet commonly they dare not. So that hee doth what he listeth, and it is enough for him to say, *stat pro ratione voluntas*. This power joynd with covetousnesse in the Viceroy, and threefore thousand duckats yearly, joynd with pride in the Arch-bishop, was like to be the ruine of that City in the year 1624. Then was the Count of *Gelves* Viceroy, and *Don Alonso de Zerna* Arch-bishop, whose two powers striving and striking at one another like two flints, had almost brought to combustion that gallant City, and did set on fire the Viceroy his palace, and the prison joyning to it.

The story was thus, which may be profitable for other nations, to beware of covetous governours, and proud Prelates; and therefore I thought fit to insert it here. The Count of *Gelves* was in some things one of the best Viceroyes and Governours that ever the Court of *Spain* sent to *America*, for he was called by the *Spaniards*, *el terrible Justiciero*, y *fuego de Ladrones*, that is, terrible for Justice, and fire to consume all thieves. For he cleared all the high waies of thieves, hanging them as often as they were caught without mercy, and did send out troopes and officers to apprehend them, so that it was generally reported that since the conquest unto those dayes of his there had never been so many thieves and malefactors hanged up as in his time. So in all other points of justice he was severe and upright. But yet covetousnesse did so blind him to see his owne injustice, that before he could see it, he had brought the City of *Mexico* and the whole Kingdome to a danger of rebellion. What he would not to be seen in himselfe, he acted by others his instruments. And one of them was one *Don Pedro Mexia*, a mighty rich Gentleman of *Mexico*, whom hee chose to joyne with him in monopolizing all the *Indian* Maiz, and wheat about the Countrey. *Don Pedro Mexia* of the *Indians* bought at the price he list their Maiz, and the wheat of the *Spaniards* he bought it according to that price at which it is taxed by the law of that land to be sold at in time of famine, which is at fourteen Rials a bushell, (which is not much there considering the abundance of gold and silver) at which price the Farmers and husbandmen knowing it to be a plentiful yeer were glad and willing to sel unto him their wheat, not knowing what the end would be, &c others fearing to gainsay him, whom they knew to be Viceroyes favorite, Thus *Don Pedro Mexia* filled all his barnes which he had hired about the Countrey, and himselfe and the Viceroy became owners of all the wheat. He had his officers appointed to bring it into the Markets upon his warning, and that was when some small remnants that had escaped his fingers were sold, and the price raised. Then hoised he his price, and doubled it above what it had cost him. The poore began to complaine, the rich to murmur, the tax of the law was moved in the Court of Chancery before the Viceroy. But he being privy to the Monopoly expounded the law to be understood in time of famine, and that he was informed, that it was as plentifull a yeer as ever had been, and that to his knowledge there was as much brought into the Markets as ever had been, and plenty enough for *Mexico* and all the Countrey. Thus was the law slighted, the rich mocked, the poore oppressed, and none sold wheat but *Don Pedro Mexia* his officers for himselfe and the Viceroy. When Justice would be no father, the people go to their mother the Church; & having understood the businesse better, and that it was *Don Pedro Mexia*, who did tyrannize and oppress them with the Viceroy his favour, they intreat the Arch-bishop to make it a case of Conscience, and to reduce it to a Church censure. *Don Alonso de Zerna* the Arch-bishop, who had alwaies stomacked *Don Pedro Mexia* and the Viceroy, to please the people, granted to them to excommunicate *Don Pedro Mexia*, and so sent out bills of excommunication to be fixed upon all the Church doores against *Don Pedro*, who not regarding the excommunication, and keeping close at home, and still selling his wheat, raising higher the price then it was before, the Arch-bishop raised this censure higher against him, adding to it a Bill of *Cessatio divina*, that is, a cessation from all divine service. This Censure is so great with them, that it is never used but for some great mans sake, who is contumacious and stubborn in his waies, contemning the power of the Church. Then are all the Church doores shut up, (let the City be never so great) no masses are said, no prayers used, no preaching permitted, no meetings allowed for any publike devotion or calling upon God. Their Church mournes as it were, and makes no shew of spirituall joy and comfort, nor of any communion of prayers one with another, so long as the partie continues stubborn and rebellious in his sinne, and scandall, and in yielding to the

the Churches censure. And further whereas by this cessation *à divinis*, many Churches and especially Cloisters suffer in the means of their livelyhood, who live upon what is daily given them for the Masses they say, and in a Cloister where thirty or forty Preists say Masse, so many peices of Eight or crowns in *Mexico* doe daily come in; therefore this censure or *cessatio à divinis* is so inflicted upon the whole Church (all suffering for it as they say in spirituall, and some in temporall waies) that the party offending or scandalizing, for whose sake this curse is laid upon all, is bound to satisfie all Preists and Cloisters which in the way aforesaid suffer, and to allow them so much out of his meanes, as they might have daily got by selling away their Masses for so many crownes for their daily livelyhood. To this would the Arch-bishop have brought *Don Pedro Mexia*, to have emptied out of his purse neer a thousand crownes daily, towards the maintenance of about a thousand Preists (so many there may bee in *Mexico*) who from the Altar sell away their bread-God to satisfie with bread and food their hungry stomackes. And secondly by the peoples suffering in their spirituall comfort, and non-communion of prayers and idolatrous worship, hee thought to make *Don Pedro Mexia* odious to the people. *Don Pedro* perceiving the spightfull intents of the Archbishop, and hearing the outcries of the people in the streets against him, and their cries for the use and liberty of their Churches, secretly retired himselfe to the Palace of the Viceroy, begging his favour and protection, for whose sake he suffered. The Viceroy immediately sent out his Orders, commanding the bills of excommunication and cessation *à divinis* to bee pulled from the Church dores, and to all the Superiours of the Cloisters to set open their Churches, and to celebrate their service and masses as formerly they had done. But they disobeying the Viceroy through blind obedience to their Archbishop, the Viceroy commanded the Arch-prelate to revoke his censures. But his answer was that what he had done, had been justly done against a publike offender and great oppressor of the poore, whose cries had moved him to commiserate their suffering condition, and that the offenders contempt of his first excommunication had deserved the rigour of the second censure; neither of the which hee would or could revoke untill *Don Pedro Mexia* had submitted himselfe to the Church and to a publike absolution, and had satisfied the Preists and Cloisters who suffered for him, and had disclaimed that unlawfull and unconscionable Monopolie, where-with he wronged the whole common-wealth, and especially the poorer sort therein.

Thus did that proud Prelate arrogantly in termes exalt himselfe against the authority of his Prince and Ruler, contemning his command with a flatdeniall, thinking himself happy in imitating *Ambrose* his spirit against the Emperour *Theodosius*, trusting in the power of his keyes, and in the strength of his Church and Clergy, which with the rebellion of the meaner sort he resolved to oppose against the power and strength of his Magistrate. The Viceroy not brooking this sawcy answer from a Preist, commanded him presently to be apprehended and to be guarded to *St. John de Ulbua*, and there to be shipped for *Spain*. The Archbishop having notice of this the Viceroy his resolution, retired himselfe out of *Mexico* to *Guadalupe* with many of his Preists and Prebends, leaving a bill of excommunication upon the Church dores against the Viceroy himself, and thinking privily to flie to *Spain* there to give an account of his carriage and behaviour. But he could not flie so fast, but the Viceroy his care and vigilancy still eyed him, and with his Serjeants and Officers pursued him to *Guadalupe*. Which the Archbishop understanding, he betook himself to the sanctuary of the church, and there caused the candles to be lighted upon the Altar, the sacrament of his Bread-God to be taken out of the Tabernacle, and attiring himselfe with his Pontificall vestiments, with his Mitre on his head, his Crozier in one hand, in the other he took his God of bread, and thus with his traine of Preists about him at the Altar, he waited for the coming of the Serjeants and Officers, whom he thought with his God in his hand, and with a Here I am, to astonish and amaze, and to make them as Christ the Jewes in the garden, to fall backwards, and to disable them from laying hands upon him. The Officers coming into the Church went towards the Altar where the Bishop stood, and kneeling downe first to worship their God made a short prayer; which being ended, they propounded unto the Bishop with courteous and faire words the cause or their coming to that place, requiring him to lay downe the Sacrament; and to come out of the Church, and to heare the notification of what orders they brought unto him in the Kings name. To whom the Archbishop replied, that whereas their

Master the Viceroy was excommunicated he looked upon him as one out of the pale of the Church, and one without any power, or authority to command him in the house of God, and so required them as they tendered the good of their soules to depart peaceably, and not to infringe the priviledges and immunity of the Church, by exercising in it any legall act of secular power and command; and that he would not goe out of the Church, unless they durst take him and the Sacrament together. With this the head officer named *Tiroll*, stood up and notified unto him an order in the Kings name to apprehend his person in what place soever he should find him, and to guard him to the Port of *St. John de Ulua*, and there to deliver him to whom by further order he should be directed there, to be shipped for *Spain* as a Traitor to the Kings crowne, a troubler of the common peace, an author and mover of sedition in the Commonwealth. The Arch-bishop smiling upon *Tiroll* answered him, Thy Master useth too high termes; and words which doe better agree unto himselfe, for I know no mutiny or sedition like to trouble the Commonwealth, unless it bee by his and *Don Pedro Mexia* his oppressing of the poore. And as for thy guarding meeto *St. John de Ulua*, I conjure thee by Jesus Christ whom thou knowest I hold in my hands, not to use here any violence in Gods house, from whose Altar I am resolved not to depart, take heed God punish thee not as he did *Jeroboam* for stretching forth his hand at the Altar against the Prophe; let his withered hand remind thee of thy duty. But *Tiroll* suffered him not to squander away the time and ravel it out with further preaching, but called to the Altar a Priest whom he had brought for that purpose, and commanded him in the Kings name to take the Sacrament out of the Arch-bishops hand; which the Priest doing, the Arch-bishop unvested himselfe of his Pontificals, and (though with many repetitions of the Churches immunity) yeelded himselfe unto *Tiroll*, and taking his leave of all his Prebends, requiring them to bee witnesses of what had been done, he went prisoner to *St. John de Ulua*, where he was delivered to the custody of the Governour of the Castle, and not many daies after was sent in a ship prepared for that purpose to *Spaine* to the King and Councell, with a full charge of all his carriages and misdeemeanours. Some of the City of *Mexico* in private began to take strangely against the Viceroy, and to stomacke the banishment of their Arch-bishop, because he had stood out against so high a power in defence of the poore and oppressed, and these their private grudges they loone vented in publike with bold and arrogant speeches against *Don Pedro Mexia*, and the Viceroy, being set on and encouraged by the Priests and Prebends, who it seems had sworne blind obedience to their Arch-Prelate, and therewith thought they could dispence with their consciences in their obedience and duty to their Magistrate. Thus did those Incendiaries for a fortnight together blow the fire of sedition and rebellion, especially amongst the inferiour sort of people and the Criolians or native *Spaniards*, and the *Indians* and Mulatto's, whom they knew brooked not the severe and rigorous justice and judgement of the Viceroy, no nor any Government that was appointed ovet them from *Spaine*, untill at the fortnights end, *Tiroll* returned from *St. John de Ulua*; and then began the spite and malice of all the malcontents to breake out, then began a fire of mutiny to be kindled, which was thought would have consumed and buried in ashes that great and famous City. *Tiroll* was not a little jealous of what mischief the common rabble intended against him, and so kept close, not daring to walke the streets; yet his occasions inviting him to the Viceroy his palace, ventured himselfe in a Coach with drawne curtaines, which yet could not blind the eyes of the spitefull and malicious male-contents, who had notice that he was in the Coach, and before he could get to the market place, three or four boyes began to cry out, *Judas, Judas, alla va Judas*, there goeth *Judas* that laid his hands upon Christs Vicar; others joyned with them saying, *aboremus a este Judas*, let us hang up this *Judas*; the number of boyes yet increased, crying aloud and boldly after the Coach, *Muera el Vellaco descomulgado la muerte de Judas, muera el pica-ro, muera el perro*, let this excommunicated rogue and dog die the death of *Judas*; the Coach-man lashed the mules, the Coach posted, the boyes halted after with stones and dirt, the number increased so that before *Tiroll* could get through two streets only, there were risen above two hundred boyes, of *Spaniards*, *Indians*, *Black-mores*, and Mulatto's. With much ado *Tiroll* got to the Viceroy his Palace, posting for his life, and his first care was to with the Portersto shut all the Palace gates: for he was fearfull of what presently happened, of a more generall insurrection and uproar. For

no sooner was hee got into the Viceroy his house, and the gates shut up, but there were gathered to the Market place (as I was credibly informed by those that saw and observed diligently that daies trouble) above two thousand people, all of inferiour rank and quality; and yet the number still increased till they were judged to bee about six or seven thousand. They all cried out for *Tiroll* the *Judas*, sparing neither stones nor dirt which they did sling at the Palace windowes.

The Viceroy sent a message to them desiring them to be quiet, and to betake themselves to their houses, certifying them that *Tiroll* was not in his Palace, but escaped out of a back doore. The rude multitude would not bee satisfied with this, being now set on by two or three Priests who were joyned with them, and so they began more violently to batter the Palace gates and walls, having brought pikes, and holbards, and long poles; others had got a few Pistols, and birding Peeces, wherewith they shot, not caring whom they killed or wounded in the Palace. It was wonderfull to see that none of the better sort, none of the Judges, no high Justice, no inferiour Officers durst or would come out to suppress the multitude, or to assist the Viceroy being in so great danger; nay I was told by some shopkeepers who lived in the Market place, that they made a laughing businesse of it, and the people that passed by went smiling and saying, Let the boyes and youngsters alone, they will wright our wrongs, they will find out before they have done, both *Tiroll* and *Mexia* and him that protects them, meaning the Viceroy; but amongst them was much noted one Priest, named *Salazar*, who spent much shot and bullets, and more his spirits in running about to spie some place of advantage, which hee might soonest batter downe. They found it seemed the prison doores easier to open, or else with helpe within they opened them, and let out all the malefactors, who joyned with them to assault the Palace. The Viceroy seeing no helpe came to him from the City, from his friends, from the Judges of the Chancery, from the Kings high Justices, nor other Officers for the peace, went up to the *Zoties* of his Palace with his Guard and Servants that attended on him, and set up the Royall Standard, and caused a Trumpet to bee sounded to call the City to ayde and assist their King. But this prevailed not, none stirred, all the chief of the City kept within doores. And when the multitude saw the Royall Standard out, and heard the Kings name from the *Zoties*, they cried out, and often repeated it, *Viva el Rex, muera el mal gobierno, muera los descomulgados*, that is to say, Our King live long, but let the evill government die, and perish, and let them die that are excommunicated. These words saved many of them from hanging afterwards, when the businesse was tried and searched into by *Don Martin de Carrillo*. And with these words in their mouths, they skirmished with them of the *Zoties* at least three houres, they above hurling downe stones, and they beneath hurling up to them and some shooting with a few Pistols and birding peeces at one another: and marke that in all this bitter skirmish there was not a peece of Ordnance shot, for the Viceroy had none for the defence of his Palace or Person, neither had or hath that great City any for its strength and security, the *Spaniards* living fearlesse of the *Indians*, and (as they thinke) secure from being annoyed by any forraigne Nation. There were slain in about six houres in all that this tumult lasted, seven or eight beneath in the Market place, and one of the Viceroy his Guard and a page in the *Zoties* above. The day drawing to an end, the multitude brought pitch and fire, and first fired the prison, then they set on fire part of the Palace, and burnt downe the chief gate. This made some of the City, of the Gentry, and of the Judges to come out, lest the fire should prevail farre upon the City, and to perswade the people to desist, and to quench the fire. Whilest the fire was quenching, many got into the Palace, some fell upon the Viceroyes tables, and there got part of his mules and horses rich furnitures, others began to fall upon some cheils, others to teare down the hangings, but they were soone perswaded by the better sort of the City, to desist from spoile or robbery, lest by that they should bee discovered; other searched about for *Don Pedro Mexia*, for *Tiroll* and the Viceroy. None of them could bee found, having disguised themselves and so escaped. Whither *Don Pedro Mexia* and *Tiroll* went, it could not bee known in many dayes, but certaine it was that the Viceroy disguised himselfe in a Franciscan habit, and so in company of a Fryer went through the multitude to the Cloister of the Franciscans, where hee abode all that yeer, (and there I saw him the yeere after) not daring to come out, untill hee had informed the King and Counsell of *Spain*;

with what hath happened, and of the danger himselfe and the City was in, if not timely prevented. The King and Counsell of *Spain* took the businesse to consideration, and looked upon it as a warning peece, to a further mutiny and rebellion, and an example to other parts of *America* to follow upon any such like occasion, if some punishment were not inflicted upon the chief offenders. Wherefore the yeere following 1625. which was when I went to those parts, the King sent a new Viceroy the Marques of *Serralvo* to govern in the place of the Conut of *Gelues*, and especially to aid and assist *Don Martin de Carrillo* a Priest, and Inquisitor of the Inquisition of *Valladolid*, who was sent with large Commission and authority to examine the foresaid tumult and mutiny, and to judge all offenders that should be found in it, yea and to hang up such as should deserve death. I was at *Mexico* in the best time of the tryall, and had intelligence from *Don Martin de Carrillo* his owne Ghostly father a Dominican Fryer of the chief passages in the examination of the businesse; and the result was, that if Justice should have beene executed rightly, most of the prime of *Mexico* would have suffered, for not comming in to the Royall Standard, when called by the sound of the Trumpet, the Judges some were put out of their places, though they answered that they durst not stirre out, for that they were informed that all the City would have risen against them if they had appeared in publick. The chief actors were found to bee the Criolians or Natives of the Countrey, who doe hate the *Spanish* Government, and all such as come from *Spain*; and reason they have for it, for by them they are much oppressed, as I have before observed, and are and will bee always watching any opportunity to free themselves from the *Spanish* yoke. But the chief fomenters of the mutiny were found to bee the Bishops party the Preists; and so had not *Salazar* and three more of them fled, they had certainly been sent to the Gallies of *Spain* for Galley slaves, this judgment was published against them. There were not above three or foure hanged of so many thousands, and their condemnation was for things which they had stolen out of the Viceroyes Palace. And because further inquiry into the rebellion would have brought in at least half the City either for actors, or counsellors, or fomentors, the King was well advised to grant a generall pardon. The Archbishops proceedings were more disliked in the Court of *Spain*, then the Viceroyes, and was long without any preferment; though, at last that there might be no exceptions taken by his party, nor cause given for a further stirring the embers to a greater combustion, the Councel thought fit to honor him in those parts where hee was born, and to make him Bishop of *Zamora* a small Bishoprick in *Castile*; so that his wings were clipt, and from Archbishop hee came to bee but Bishop, and from three score thousand Crownes yeerely rent he fell to foure or five thousand onely a yeere. The count of *Gelues* was also sent to *Spain*, and well entertained in the Court, and therein made Master of the Kings horse, which in *Spain* is a Noblemans preferment.

And this History shewing the state and condition of *Mexico*, when I travelled to those parts I have willingly set down, that the Reader may by it bee furnished with better observations then myself (who am but a Neophyte) am able to deduce. Somewhat might bee observed from the Viceroyes covetousnesse; which doublelesse in all is a great sinne, for as *Paul* well adviseth, 1 *Tim.* 6. 10. *The love of money is the root of all evil*; but much more to bee condemned in a Prince or Governour; whom it may blind in the exercise of Justice and Judgment, and harden those tender bowels (which ought to bee in him) of a father and shepheard to his flock and children. Wee may yet from this Viceroyes practice and example against a chiefe head of the *Romish* Church, discover that error of the Preists and Jesuites of *England*, who perswade the people here that no temporall Magistrate hath power over them, and that to lay hands on them in wrath and anger (being as they say Consecrated to God and his Altar) is *ipso facto* a deep excommunication; whereas wee see the contrary in this Viceroy a member of the Church of *Rome*, and yet exercising his temporall power against an Arch-Bishop, and by *Tirol* taking him from the Church, and as his prisoner sending him with iust wrath and anger to a forraigne and remote place of banishment. But lastly it is my desire that the High and Honorable Court of Parliament which now is sitting for the good of this Kingdome, and for the good of it hath already pulled downe the Hierarchy of such Prelates and Archprelates, would looke upon the trouble and uproare which the keys of the Church in the hand of an undiscreeet Preist brought

brought upon that City of *Mexico*. Certainly as the strength of the Church well settled, and governed with subordination to the Magistrate, is likewise the strength of the Common-wealth; so on the other side the power of the Keyes in the Clergies hand to cast out what incestuous *Corinbian* they please, without the rest of the *Corinthians* consent, *1 Cor. 5.4, 5.* may prove dangerous and troublesome to the Common-wealth and good. For if the Clergy may use by itselfe, without the overseeing eye of the Magistrates Commissioners, the power of the keyes; who shall bee free from their censures, that any way will oppose them? The poor and ignorant will not onely bee the object of their censures, but the rich and wise and noble, Ruler and Magistrate will also come under their censures; wherein I finde a Minister may then as a Pope encroach upon the highest Crowne of an Emperour. Nay certainly in *England* the thoughts of some such aspiring Ministers have been higher then the thoughts of this Arch-Bishop of *Mexico* over a Viceroy, the concept of their power with the Keyes have hoisted them above their Prince, for I have heard one of them say, he knew not but that by the power of the keyes hee might as well excommunicate the King as any other private person. This conceit hath made the Pope of *Rome* feare no earthly Prince, Emperour, Ruler or Magistrate; nay this hath made him to bee feared and respected and honoured by Kings and Princes; And why may not the same power in the hands of a Protestant Clergy, make the meanest and the highest to feare and dread them? But some will say, the Word of God being the Touchstone wherewith they are to try what points may be the subjects of their censures, by such a light and guidance they are not like to erre. But they then being themselves the Judges of the sense and meaning of the Word, who shall oppose their judgment, and their ensuing censures? What if to their triall and judgment they shall bring any Law enacted by a High Court of Parliament, and shall judge it not according to the Word of God, and so presse it to the peoples consciences; threatening with their censures such as shall obey it in such a case how may the power of the keyes unlock and open a doore to the people of rebellion against their lawfull Magistrates? Oh what dangers may befall a Common-wealth, when thus the Clergy shall stand over poor and rich, Subject and Magistrate, as *Peters* statue at *Rome*, with Crosse-keyes in his hand? What a rebellion did the Archbishop of *Mexico* cause by excommunicating *Don Pedro Mexia* first, and then the Viceroy? and how did the people fear his keyes more then their Viceroyes temporall power and authority, siding with him against such as hee had excommunicated? What troubles did that Doctor *Smith* Bishop of *Chalcedon* bring among the Papiſts, small and great ones, not long agoe here in *England*, laying upon them by the power of the Keyes a censure of Excommunication, if they confessed to, or did entertaine and heare the Masse of any, that had not derived their authority from him? Then were they in open rebellion one against another; the secular Preiſts against the Monkes, Fryers, and Jesuites, and the Laity all troubled, some siding with one, and some with another, untill Doctor *Smith* having thus kindled the fire, was faine to leave it burning, and to betake himself to *Paris*, and from thence to foment the dissension which with power of the Keyes hee had caused here.

Oh surely the Church so far is a good Mother, as it allowes a Magistrate to be a Father. And great comfort have those that live within the pale of the Church, to know that they have the Magistrate a Father to flye unto in their pressures and discomforts.

I must ingenuously confesse that one maine point that brought me from the Church of *Rome*, was the too too great power of the Keyes in the Popes, Bishops, and Preiſts hands, who studying more selfe Policy, then common Policy, looke upon the people, and with their power deale with them more as their subjects, then as politicall Members in a Common-wealth, rending and tearing them daily by their censures from that common and Politicall body to which they belong, without any hopes of care to bee had of them by their Magistrate and Politicall head and Governour. And I hope I shall not have fled from Antichrist who exalteth himself as head of the Church, and from that power hath his influence over all State and Politicall Heads and Rulers; to find in a Protestant Church any of his spirit, making a distinction of a spirituall and temporall head, forgetting the onely head Christ Jesus; which were it once granted, as the spirit is more noble then the body, so would the inference soon bee made, that they that are over the spirit, are higher in power then they that are over the body; which conclusion would soon bring *Mexicoes* troubles among Protestants. Experience

ence in all my travails by sea and land, in most parts of *Europe* and of *America*, hath ever taught mee, that where the Clergy hath been too much exalted and enjoyed power over the people, there the Common-wealth hath soon fallen into heavy prestures and troubles. And let not this my observation seem strange as coming from a Minister; for I have learned from Christ, *Matth. 20. 25, 26, 27.* *That the Princes of the Gentiles exercise Dominion, and they that are great exercise authority. But it shall not be so among you, but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your Minister; and whosoever will be chiefe among you, let him be your Servant.*

I hope the High Court of Parliament will so settle the Church and State here that this shall not feare any further troubles from that; and that wee who have our portion from the one, may bee Ministers and Servants under the Commissioners of the other. And thus largely I have described the State and condition of *Mexico* in the time of *Montezuma*, and since his death the manner and proportion of it, with the troubled condition I found it in when I went thither, by reason of a mutiny and rebellion caused by an Arch-Bishop the year before. I shall now come out of *Mexico*, and present unto you the places most remarkable about it; and from thence the severall parts and Countries of *America*, before I betake my self to the journey which I made from *Mexico* to *Guatemala*, lying nine hundred English miles Southward, and from thence yet to *Costarica*, and *Nicoya*, being nine hundred miles further towards the South.

CHAP. XIII.

Shewing the severall parts of this new World of America; and the places of note about the famous City of Mexico.

Although my travailes by Sea and Land in *America* were not above three or foure thousand miles (which is not the fift part of it, if exactly compassed) yet for the better compleating of this my worke I thought fit to enlarge my self to a full division of the many and sundry parts thereof, here first in generall; and hereafter more in particular of those parts wherein I lived twelve yeeres, and of those which I more exactly noted and observed as I travailed and passed through them. The chief division therefore of this greatest part of the World, is twofold only, to wit, the *Mexican*, and the *Peruan* parts, which containe many great and sundry Provinces and Countries, some as big as our whole Kingdom of England. But *Mexico* giving name to halfe *America*, is now called *Nova Hispania*, new *Spain*, from whence the Kings of *Spain* doe stile themselves, *Hispaniarum Reges*. The *Mexican* part containeth chiefly the Northern Tract, and comprehendeth these Provinces hitherto knowne and discovered, to wit, *Mexico*, *Quivira*, *Nicaragua*, *Jucatan*, *Florida*, *Virginia*, *Norumbega*, *Nova Francia*, *Cortieria*, and *Estetilandia*. The compass of this part of *America* is thirteen thousand miles. The *Peruan* part containeth all the Southern Tract, and is tyed to the *Mexican* by the *Isthmus* or strait of *Darien*, being no more then 17. or as others say, in the narrowest place but 12. miles broad from the North to the South Sea. And many have mentioned to the Councell of *Spain*, the cutting of a Navigable Channell through this small *Isthmus*, so to shorten the Voiage to *China*, and the *Moluccoer*. But the Kings of *Spain* have not as yet attempted to doe it, some say lest in the worke he should lose those few *Indians* that are left (would to God it were so that they were and had been so carefull and tender of the poore *Indians* lives, more populous world that vast and spacious Countrey bee at this day:) but others say he hath not attempted that great worke, lest the passage by the Cape *Bona Esperanza* good hope, being left off, those Seas might become a receptacle of Pirates. However this hath not been attempted by the *Spaniards*, they give not for reason any extraordinary great charge, for that would soone bee recompensed with the speedy and easie conveying that way the Commodities from South to North Seas. This *Peruan* part of *America* containeth these Countries, or Kingdomes, to wit, *Castellana*, *Guiana*, *Peru*, *Brasil*, *Chille*; and the compass of it is seventeen thousand miles. I shall not speake distinctly of all these parts, which better writers, and of more knowledge

ledge have before me discovered, and because some of them being out of the *Spaniards* reach and dominion, from whom I have received my best intelligence, I have from them had little notice of them, nor experience, which indeed I intend to make my best guide in this my worke. Therefore to returne again to the *Mexican* part, and the Northern Traſſ, I ſhall fall again upon the firſt and chiefe member of that diviſion, which I ſaid was *Mexico*. This aboundeth with golden ſanded rivers, in which are many Crocodiles (though not ſo big as thoſe of *Egypt*) which the *Indian* people eat. It glorieth in the mountaines *Popocatepeche*, and *Popocatepec*, which are of the ſame nature with *Aetna* and *Vesuvius*. Nay all the way South-ward as farre as *Leon* in *Nicaragua*, there are many of theſe fiery mountaines. But *Popocatepec* is one of the chiefe of them, which ſignifieth a hill of ſmoake, for many times it caſteth out ſmoake and fire; it ſtandeth eight leagues from *Cholollz*, the aſcending up unto it is very troubleſome, and full of craggie rocks. When *Cortez* paſſed that way to *Mexico*, he ſent ten *Spaniards* to view it, with many *Indians* to carry their viſuals, and to guide them in the way. They approached ſo nigh the top, that they heard ſuch a terrible noiſe which proceeded from thence, that they durſt not goe unto it, for the ground did tremble and ſhake, and great quantity of aſhes did much diſturb their way. But yet two of them who ſeemed to be molt hardie, and deſirous to ſee ſtrange things, went up to the top, becauſe they would not return with a ſleeveleſſe answer, and that they might not be accounted cowards, leaving their fellowes behind them, proceeded forwards, and paſſed through that deſart of aſhes, and at length came under a great ſmoake very thick, and ſtanding there a while, the darkneſſe vaniſhed partly away, and then appeared the Vulcan and concavity, which is about halfe a league in compaſſe; out of the which the aire came rebounding with a very great noiſe, very ſhrill and whiſtling, ſo that the whole hill did tremble; it was like unto an oven where glaſſe is made. The ſmoake and heat was ſo great that they could not abide it, and of force were conſtrained to return by the way that they had aſcended. But they were not gone farre, when the Vulcan began to ſlaſh out flames of fire, aſhes and embers, yea and at the laſt ſtones of burning fire, and if they had not chanced to find a rocke, under which they ſhadowed themſelves, undoubtedly they had there been burned. It is like unto the Vulcan of *Sicilia*, it is high and round, and never wanteth ſnow about ſome part of it. Before the coming of *Cortez* for ten yeeres ſpace it had left off expelling vapour or ſmoake; but in the yeer 1540. it began again to burn, and with the horrible noiſe thereof, the people that dwelt four leagues from it were terrified; the aſhes that proceeded then from it reached to *Tlaxcallan*, which ſtandeth ten leagues diſtant from it; yea ſome affirme that it extended fifteen leagues diſtant, and burned the herbs in the gardens, the corne in the fields, and clothes that lay drying. And many ſuch hills and mountaines doth this *Mexican* part of *America*, or new *Spaine* abound with. The limits of it are on the Eaſt, *Jucatan*, and the gulfe of *Mexico*, on the Weſt *California*, on the South the *Peruan* part. The Northern bounds are unknowne, ſo that we cannot certainly avow this *America* to be continent, nor certainly affirme it to be an Iſland, diſtinguiſhed from the old world. It was very populous before the arrivall of the *Spaniards*, who in ſeventeen yeeres ſlew ſix millions of them, roaſting ſome, plucking out the eyes, cutting off the arms of others, and caſting them living to be devoured of wilde beaſts. This chiefe Province of *America* named *Mexico*, is further ſubdivided into four parts, that is to ſay, *Themifſitan*, *Nova Galicia*, *Mechacoacan*, and *Guaſſacaban*. *Themifſitan* is the greateſt and nobleſt of theſe foure; for that it containeth ſix Cities, and of them one is *Mexico*, which giveth name to the halfe part of *America*, and is the ſeat of an Arch-biſhop, and of the *Spaniſh* Viceroy, whoſe greatneſſe within I have before laid open; the ſecond City is *La Puebla de los Angeles*, the City of Angels; the third *Villaruca*; the fourth *Antivero*; the fifth *Meccioca*; the ſixth *Ostapan*. But all theſe, excepting the two firſt, are but ſmall places, named Cities formerly, for that the *Spaniards* thought to have made them Biſhops ſeats, which they have not been able to performe, by reaſon that *Mexico* and the City of Angels hath drawne to them the chiefe trading, and moſt of the inhabitants of the other foure. Eſpecially the reſort to *Mexico* is ſo great, that all the Townes about (which formerly were of *Indians*) are now inhabited by *Spaniards* and *Mestiſozes*. I may not omit about *Mexico* that famous place of *Chapultepec*, which in the Heathens times was the burying place of the Emperours; and now by the *Spaniards* is the Eſcuriall of *America*, where the Vice-
royes

royes that die are also interred. There is a sumptuous palace built with many fair gardens, and devils of waters, and ponds of fish, whither the Viceroyes and the gentry of *Mexico* do resort for their recreation. The riches here belonging to the Viceroyes Chappell are thought to be worth above a million of crownes.

Tacuba is also a pleasant Towne full of orchards and gardens, in the very way to *Chapultepec*. South-ward is *Tenoco*, rich also for trading, but above all much mentioned for the Bacon, which is the best of all those parts, and is transported far and neer. West-ward is th Towne called, *La Piedad* at the end of a Cawsey, whither the people much resort from *Mexico*, being drawn to the superstitious worship of a picture of *Mary*, which hath been enriched by the chiefe of *Mexico* with many thousand pounds worth of gifts of chaines, and crownes of gold.

But more Northwest-ward three leagues from *Mexico* is the pleasantest place of all that are about *Mexico*, called *La Soledad*, and by others *el deserto*, the solitary or desert place and wildernesse. Were all wildernesess like it, to live in a wildernesse would be better then to live in a City. This hath been a device of poor Fryers named discalced, or barefooted Carmelites, who to make shew of their hypocriticall and apparent godliness, and that whilst they would be thought to livelike Eremites, retired from the world, they may draw the world unto them; they have built there a stately Cloister, which being upon a hill and among rocks makes it to be more admired. About the Cloister they have fashioned out many holes and Caves in, under, and among the rocks, like Eremites lodgings, with a room to lie in, and an Oratory to pray in, with pictures, and Images, and rare devices for mortification, as disciplines of wyar, rods of iron, haire-cloths, girdles with sharp wyar pointes to girdle about their bare flesh, and many such like toys which hang about their Oratories, to make people admire their mortified and holy lives. All these Eremeticall holes and caves (which are some ten in all) are within the bounds and compasse of the Cloister and among orchards and gardens full of fruits and flowers, which may take up two miles compasse; and here among the rocks are many springs of water, which with the shade of the plantins and other trees, are most coole and pleasant to the Eremites; they have also the sweet smell of the rose and jaszmin, which is a litle flower, but the sweetest of all others; there is not any other flower to be found that is rare and exquisite in that countrey, which is not in that wildernesse to delight the senses of those mortified Eremites. They are weekly changed from the Cloister, and when their weeke is ended, others are sent, and they return unto their Cloister; they carry with them their bottles of wine, sweet-meats, and other provision; as for fruits the trees about do drop them into their mouths. It is wonderfull to see the strange devises of fountains of water which are about the gardens; but much more strange and wonderfull to see the resort of Coaches, and gallants, and Ladies, and Citizens from *Mexico* thither, to walke and make merry in those desert pleasures, and to see those hypocrites, whom they looke upon as living Saints, and so think nothing too good for them, to cherish them in their desert conficts with Satan. None goes to them but carries some sweet-meats, or some other dainty dish to nourish and feed them withall; whose prayers they likewise earnestly sollicit, leaving them great almes of money for their masses; and above all, offering to a picture in their Church, called our Lady of *Carmel*, treasures of diamonds, pearles, golden chaines and crownes, and gownes of cloth of gold and silver. Before this picture did hang in my time twenty lampes of silver; the worst of them being worth a hundred pound; truly Satan hath given unto them what he offered Christ in the desert, All these things will I give thee if thou wilt fall down and worship me; all the dainties and of all the riches of *America* hath he given unto them in that their desert, for that they daily fall downe and worship him. In the way to this place there is another Towne yet called *Tacubaya*, where is a rich Cloister of Franciscans, and also many gardens and orchards, but above all much resorted to for the musicke in that Church, wherein the Friars have made the *Indians* so dexterous and skilfull, that they dare compare with the Cathedrall Church of *Mexico*. These were the chiefe places of mine and my friends resort, whilst I abode about *Mexico*, which I found to be most worth a History, and so thought fit here to insert them, and so passe on to the other parts or Provinces of *Mexico*.

Next to this is the Province of *Guaftachan*, which lieth in the rode from *St. John de Ulua* to *Mexico*, which is not so poore as *Hylin* maketh it, for that now it doth abound with many rich farmes of Sugar, and of *Cochinil*, and reacheth as farre as the Valley

of *Guaxaca* which is a most rich place. The chiefe City of this Province was wont to be *Tlaxcallan*, wherof I have formerly spoken; but now the City of *Guaxaca* which is a Bishops seat, and *Xalappa* which is also of late made a Bishops seat, makes it more famous, glories also in *Villa Rica* a Port Towne very wealthy, because all the traffique betwixt the Old and New *Spain* do passe through it. The *Spaniards* have in it two rich Colonies, called *Pamico*, and *St. James* in the valleys. The third Province of *Mexico* is called *Mechoacan*, which containeth in circuit fourscore leagues. It is also an exceeding rich countrey, abounding in Mulberry trees, silk, hony, wax, black-amber, works of divers coloured feathers, most rich, rare, and exquisite, and such store of fish, that from thence it tooke its name, *Meobucan*, which signifieth a place of fishing.

The language of the *Indians* is most elegant and copious, and they tall, strong, active, and of very good wits, as may be seen in all their workes, but especially in those of feathers, which are so curious, that they are presented for rich presents to the King and Nobles of *Spain*. The chiefe City of this Province is *Valadolid* a Bishops seat; and the best Townes are *Sinsonte*, which was the residence of the Kings of this countrey. There is also *Pasuar* and *Colima* very great Townes inhabited by *Indians* and *Spaniards*. There are also two good havens, called *St. Anthony*, and *St. James*, or *Santiago*. This countrey of *Mechoacan* was almost as great as the Empire of *Mexico*, when *Cortez* conquered those parts. The King that was then of *Mechoacan* was called *Cacanzin*, who was a great friend unto *Cortez*, and a servitor to the *Spaniards*, and willingly yielded himselfe as vassall to the King of *Spain*; yet such was the cruelty of *Don Nuno de Guzman*, the first Ruler and President of the Chancery of *Mexico* after the conquest, that understanding he was put out of his office, he tooke his journey against the *Tenochimucan*, and carried in his company five hundred *Spaniards*, with whom and six thousand *Indians* which by force he tooke out of *Mechoacan*, he conquered *Xalisco* which is now called the new *Galicia*. And as for this purpose hee passed through *Mechoacan*, he tooke prisoner the King *Cacanzin*, (who was quiet and peaceable and stirred not against him) and tooke from him ten thousand markes of plate, and much gold and other treasure, and afterwards burned him, and many other *Indian* Gentlemen and principall persons of that Kingdome, because they should not complaine, saying that a dead dog biteth not. They were in this Kingdome as superstitious and idolatrous as in the rest of *América*. No divorcement was permitted amongst them, except the party made a solemn oath, that they looked not the one on the other stedfastly and directly at the time of their marriage. In the burying likewise of their Kings they were superstitious, cruell, and Idolatrous. When any King of *Mechoacan* happened to be brought to such extremity of sickness that hope of life was past; then did he name and appoint which of his sons should inherit the state and Crown, and being known the new King or heir presently sent for all the Governours, Captains, and valiant souldiers, who had any office or charge, to come unto the buriall of his father, and he that came not, from thenceforth was held for a Traitor, and so punished. When the death of the old King was certaine, then came all degrees of estates, and did bring their presents to the new King for the approbation of his Kingdome: But if the King were not thoroughly dead, but at the point of death, then the gates were shut in, and none permitted to enter; and if he were thoroughly dead, then began a generall cry and mourning, and they were permitted to come where their dead King lay, and to touch him with their hands. This being done the carkasse was washed with sweet waters, and then a fine shirt put upon him, and a payre of shooes made of Dear skinne put on his feet, and about his ankles were tied bells of gold, about the wrists of his hands were put bracelets of Turkes and of gold likewise, about his neck they did hang collars of pretious stones and also of gold, and rings in his eares, with a great Turke in his neither lip. Then his body was laid upon a large Beere whereon was placed a good bed under him; on his one side lay a bow with a quiver of arrowes, and on his other side lay an Image made of fine mantles of his own stature or bignesse, with a great tuffe of fine feathers, shooes upon his feet, with bracelets and a collar of gold. While this was a doing, others were busied in washing the men and women, which should be slain for to accompany him into hell. These wretches that were to be slain, were first banqueted and filled with drinke, because they should receive their death with lesse paine. The new King did appoint those who should die for to serve the King his father; and many of those simple soules esteemed that death so odious

Nova Mexico, new Mexico. And here it is that the *Spaniards* are daily warring against the *Indians* which live Northward, and are not as yet reduced nor brought under the *Spanish* yoke and government. They are valiant *Indians*, and hold the *Spaniards* hard to it; and have great advantage against them in the rocks and mountaines, where they abide and cut off many *Spaniards*. Their chief weapons are but bowes and arrowes, and yet with them from the thick Woods, hills and rockes they annoy and offend the *Spaniards* exceedingly. I have heard some *Spaniards* say that they flee and climbe up the rocks like Goats; and when they draw nigh unto them, then they cry out with a hideous noise shooting their arrowes at them, and in an instant are departed and fled unto another rock. The reason why the *Spaniards* are so earnest to pursue and conquer these *Indians*, more then many others of *America*, which as yet are not brought in subjection to the *Spaniards*, is for the many Mines of silver and treasure of gold which they know to bee there. They have got already sure possession of part of those riches in the Mines, called St. *Lewis Sacatecas*, from whence they send all the silver that is coyned in the Mint houses of *Mexico* and the City of *Angels*, and every yeere besides to *Spain* in silver wedges at least six Millions. But the further the *Spaniards* goe to the North, still more riches they discover; and faine would they subdue all those Northern parts (as I have heard them say) left our *English* from *Virginia*, and their other plantations, get in before them. I have heard them wonder that our *English* enter no further into the maine land; surely say they, either they feare the *Indians*, or else with a little paultry Tobacco they have as much as will maintaine them in lazinesse. Certainly they intend to conquer through those heathenish *Indians*, untill by land they come to *Florida* and *Virginia*, (for so they boait) if they bee not met with by some of our Northern Nations of *Europe*, who may better keep them off then those poor *Indians*, and may doe God greater and better service with those rich Mines, then the *Spaniards* hitherto have done.

Thus having spoken somewhat of the foure Provinces of *Mexico*, which was the first member of the division *Mexican* and *Peruan*; Now I shall briefly say somewhat further of three more Countries belonging to the *Mexican* or Northern Tract as opposite to the *Peruan*, omitting *Florida*, *Virginia*, *Norumboga*, *Nova Francia* *Corterialis*, and *Estorilandia*, because I will not write as many doe by relation and hearsay, but by more sure intelligence, insight and experience. In my first division next to *Mexico*, I placed *Quivira*, *Jucatan*, and *Nicaragua*; of these three therefore I shall say a little, and then somewhat of the *Peruan* part. *Quivira* is seated on the most Western part of *America*, just over against *Tartary*, from whence being not much distant some suppose that the Inhabitants first came into this new World. And indeed the *Indians* of *America* in many things seeme to bee of the race and progenie of the *Tartars*, in that *Quivira* and all the Westside of the Country towards *Asia* is farre more populous then the East towards *Europe*, which sheweth these parts to have been first inhabited. Secondly, their uncivility, and barbarous properties tell us that they are most like the *Tartars* of any. Thirdly, the West side of *America* if it bee not continent with *Tartary*, is yet disjoyned by a small straight. Fourthly, the people of *Quivira* neere to *Tartary*, are said to follow the seasons and pasturing of their cattell like the *Tartarians*. All this side of *America* is full of herbage, and enjoyeth a temperate aire. The people are desirous of glasse more then of gold; and in some places to this day are Cannibals. The chief riches of this Country are their Kine, which are to them as we say of our Ale to drunkards, meat, drink and cloth, and more too. For the Hides yeeld them houies, or at least the coverings of them; their bones bodkins, their hair thred, their linewes ropes; their horns, mawes and bladders, vessels; their dung, fire; their Calve skins, budgets to draw and keepe water; their blood, drink; their flesh, meat.

There is thought to bee some traffique from *China*, or *Cathaya*, hither to those parts, where as yet the *Spaniards* have not entred. For when *Vazquez de Coronado* conquered some part of it, hee saw in the further Sea certaine ships, not of common making; which seemed to bee well laden, and bare in their prowes, Pelicans, which could not bee conjectured to come from any Country, but one of these two. In *Quivira* there are but two Provinces knowne unto us, which are *Cibola*, and *Nova Albion*. *Cibola* lieth on the Eastside, whose chief City is of the same name, and denominates the whole Province. The chief Town next to *Cibola* is called *Tomotaa*, which is temperate and

pleasant, being situated upon a River so called. The third Town worth mentioning is called *Tinguex*, which was burnt by the *Spaniards*; who under the conduct of *Francisco Vasquez de Coronado* made this Province subject to the King of Spain, Anno Dom. 1540. And since this Town of *Tinguex* hath been rebuilt and inhabited by the *Spaniards*; There is a goodly Colledge of *Jesuites*, who only preach to the *Indians* of that country. *Nova Albion* lyeth on the West side towards *Tariary*, and is very little inhabited by the *Spaniards*, who have found no wealth or riches there. Our ever Renowned and Noble Captain Sir *Francis Drake* discovered it, entred upon it, and hee named it *Nova Albion*, because the King that then was, did willingly submit himself unto our Queen *Elizabeth*.

The Country abounds with fruits pleasing both the eye and the Palate. The people are given to hospitality, but withall to witchcraft and adoration of devils. The bounds between this *Quivira* and *Mexico* Empire is *Mar Virmiglio*, or *Californio*. The third Kingdome belonging to the *Mexican* part and Northern Tract is *Jucatan*, which was first discovered by *Francisco Hernandez de Cordova*, in the year 1517. It is called *Jucatan*, not as some have conceited from *Jethan* the son of *Heber*, who they thinke came out of the East, where the Scripture placeth him, *Gen. 12. 23.* to inhabite here, but from *Jucatan* which in the *Indian* tongue, signifieth, what say you? for when the *Spaniards* at their first arriving in that Country did aske of the *Indians* the name of the place, the *Savages* not understanding what they meant, replied unto them *Jucatan*, which is, what say you? whereupon the *Spaniards* named it, and ever since have called it *Jucatan*. The whole Country is at least 900. miles in circuit, and is a *Peninsula*. It is situated over against the Isle of *Cuba*; and is divided into three parts, first *Jucatan* it selfe, whose Cities of greatest worth, are *Campeche*, *Valladolid*, *Merida*, *Simarica*, and one which for his greatnesse and beauty, they call *Caire*. This Country among the *Spaniards* is held to bee poor; the chief Commodities in it are hony, wax, Hides, and some Sugar, but no Indigo, *Cochinil*, nor Mines of silver; There are yet some drugs much esteemed of by the Apothecaries, *Cassia fistula*, *Larzaparilla* especially; and great store of *Indian Maize*. There is also abundance of good Wood and Timber fit for shipping, whereof the *Spaniards* doe make very strong ships, which they use in their voiajes to *Spain* and back again. In the year 1632. the *Indians* of this Country in many places of it were like to rebell against their *Spanish* Governour, who vexed them sorely, making them bring in to him their Fowles and Turkeys (whereof there is also great abundance) and their hony and wax (wherein hee traded) at the rate and price which hee pleased to set them for his better advantage; which was such a disadvantage to them, that to enrich him they impoverished themselves; and so resolved to betake themselves to the Woods and Mountaines; wherein a rebellious way they continued some Months, untill the *Franciscan* Fryers, who have there great power over them, reduced them back, and the Governour (lest hee should quite lose that Country by a further rebellion) granted to them not onely a generall pardon in the Kings name, but for the future promised to use them more mildly and gently.

The second part of it is called *Guatemala*, (wherein I lived for the space of almost twelve years) whose Inhabitants have lost formerly halfe a million of their kinsmen and friends by the unmercifull dealing of the *Spaniards*; and yet for all the losse of so many thousands, there is no part of *America* more flourishing then this with great and populous *Indians* Townes. They may thank the Fryers who defend them daily against the *Spaniards* cruelty, and this yet for their owne ends; for while the *Indians* flourish and increase, the Fryers purfes flourish also and are filled. This Country is very fresh and plentifull. The chief Cities are *Guatemala*, *Cassica*, and *Chiapa*, whereof I shall speak more largely hereafter. The third part of *Jucatan* is *Acaamil*, which is an Island over against *Guatemala*, which is now commonly called by the *Spaniards* *Sa Cruz*, whose chief Towne is *Sa Cruz*.

The fourth and last Country of the division of the *Mexican* part and Northern Tract of *America*, (which is under the *Spanish* Government, and my best knowledge and experience) is *Nicaragua*, which standeth South East from *Mexico*, and above foure hundred and fifty leagues from it. Yet it agreeth somewhat with *Mexico* in nature both of soile and Inhabitants. The people are of good stature, and of colour indifferent white. They had, before they received Christianity, a settled and politick forme of Government; Onely, as *Solon* appointed no Law for a mans killing of his father, so had this people none for the murderer of a King, both of them conceiting, that men

were

were not so unnaturall, as to commit such crimes. A thief they judged not to death, but adjudged him to be slave to that man whom hee had robbed; till by his service hee had made satisfaction: a course truly more mercifull and not lesse just, then the losse of life.

This Countrey is so pleasing to the eye, and abounding in all things necessary; that the *Spaniards* call it *Mahomet's Paradise*. Among other flourishing trees, here groweth one of that nature, that a man cannot touch any of its branches, but it withereth presently. It is as plentifull of Parrets, as our Countrey of *England* is of *Crowes*; *Turkies*, *Fowles*, *Quailes* and *Rabbets* are ordinary meat there. There are many populous *Indian Townes* (though not so many as about *Guatemala*) in this Countrey; and especially two Cities of *Spaniards*; the one *Leon*, a Bishops Seat, and the other *Granada*, which standeth upon a Lake of fresh water, which hath above three hundred miles in compasse, and having no intercoure with the Ocean, doth yet continually ebbe and flow. But of this Countrey, and of this City especially I shall say somewhat more, when I come to speake of my travailing through it.

Thus I have briefly touched upon the *Mexican* part, and so much of the Northern Tract as is under the King of *Spain* his Dominion, leaving more particulars; untill I come to shew the order of my being in and journeying through some of these Countreies. I will now likewise give you a glimpse of the Southern Tract, and *Peruan* part of *America*. Which containeth chiefly five great Countreies or Kingdomes, some in whole, and others in part, subject to the Crown of *Spain* and *Portugal*, which are, first *Castell's aurea*; secondly, *Gujana*; thirdly, *Peru*; fourthly, *Brasile*; fifthly, *Chille*. But I will not fill my History with what others have written of the foure last named Countreies, wherein I was not much; but what I could learne of *Peru*, I will briefly speak, and so come to the first *Castella aurea*, through which I travailed. *Peru* is held to be yet more rich a Countrey then *Mexico*; for although it hath not the conveniency of traffique by the North Sea, which *Mexico* hath, but doth send the Commodities in it to *Panama*, and from thence transports them either over the straight *Isthmus*, or by the River *Chibagre* to *Portabel* upon the North Sea; yet the Countrey is farre richer then *Mexico*, by reason of the more abundance of Mines of silver which are in it. The mountaines named *Potosi* are thought to be of no other metall, which the King of *Spain* will not have to be opened until they have exhausted those which are already discovered and digged, and have found the *Spaniards* worke enough, and yeelded them treasure enough ever since they first conquered those parts. The soile is very fruitfull of all such fruits as are found in *Spain*. The Olives are bigger then those of *Spain*, the oyle sweeter and cleerer. The Grapes yeeld also a wine farre stronger then any of *Spain*, and there is much made, by reason it cannot conveniently bee brought from *Spain*. There is likewise wheat in great store; and all this fruitfull soile lyeth low under high Mountaines which divide betwixt *Indians* not as yet conquered and *Brasile*. But those Mountaines are a great helpe unto those pleasant Valleys with the waters that fall from them; for in all those parts inhabited by *Spaniards* towards the South Sea, it is most certain and most observable that it never raineth, in so much that the houses are uncovered on the tops, and onely mats laid over them to keep off the dust, and yet is this Countrey what with the waters that fall from the Mountaines, what with the morning and evening dewes, as fruitfull and plentifull as any Countrey in the World. The chief City is called *Lima*, where there is a Viceroy and a Court of Chancery, and an Archbishop. It hath a Port some two miles from it named *Callau*; where lie the ships that convey yearly the treasure of that Kingdome to *Panama*. There lie also other ships, which traffique to the *East-Indies*, and to all the Coasts of *Guatemala*, and to *Acapulco* the Southern Haven of *Mexico*. This Port of *Callau* is not so strong as the great, may inestimable wealth that is commonly in it and in the City of *Lima* should require, for I have heard many *Spaniards* say, that in the year 1620. a few ships of *Hollanders* (as some say) or of *English* (as others affirme) appeared before the Haven waiting for the ships that were to convey the Kings reveanews to *Panama*, and hearing that they were departed (though by a false report) followed them, and so forsooke the attempting to take the *Callau*; which certainly had they manly attempted, they had taken it, and in it the greatest treasure that in any one part of the world could have beene found. But the *Spaniards* seldome see thereabout foraine ships, and so live more carelessly in securing or strengthening that Coast. Though *Peru* bee

thus rich in fruits and Mines, yet *Chille* farre exceedeth it in gold; which edgeth the *Spaniards* to a constant and continuall Warre with the Inhabitants, which are a strong, warlike, and most valiant people. They are grown as skillfull in the use of weapons, swords, Pistols and Muskets as the *Spaniards*, and have taken many *Spaniards*, men and women prisoners; and of the *Spanish* women have had so many children, called *Mestizges*, that by them (who have proved most valiant) they have much increased both their strength and skill. They hold the *Spaniards* hard to it, and the War is become the most dangerous of any the *Spaniards* have; in so much that the Counsell of *Spain* doth pick out from *Flanders* and *Italy*, the best souldiers to send them thither. And a Captaine that hath served long, well and faithfully in *Flanders*, by way of credit and promotion is sent to the Warres of *Chille*, to fight for that great treasure of gold, which certainly is there. The *Spaniards* have it in three faire Cities; the *Conception* (which is a Bishops Seat) and *Santiago*, and *Va'divia*. This last is so named from one *Valdivia*, who was Governour of it, and the first cause and author of those Wars.

This man was so extraordinarily covetous of the gold of that Countrey, that hee would not let the *Indians* possesse or enjoy any of it themselves; but did vex them, whip, and beat, yea and kill some of them, because they brought him not enough, and employed them daily in seeking it out for him, charging them with a tax and imposition of so much a day: which the *Indians* not being able to performe, nor to satisfie an unsatiable minde and greedy covetousnesse, resolved to rebell, but so that first they would fill and satiate his heart with gold so that hee should never more covet after that yellow and glittering metall. Wherefore they joynd and combined themselves together in a warlike posture, and tooke some quantity of gold and melted it, and with it resolutely came upon *Valdivia* the Governour, saying, O *Valdivia* we see thou hast a greedy and unsatiable minde and desire after our gold; wee have not been able to satisfie thee with it hitherto; but now wee have devised away to satiate this thy greedy covetousnesse; here is now enough, drink thy full of it; and with these words they tooke him, and powred the melted gold downe his throat, wherewith he died, never more coveting after that bright and shining drosse, and naming with his name and death that City of *Valdivia*, and with his covetousnesse leaving a rebellion which hath continued to a cruell and bloody War unto this day.

Guiana and *Brasile* I shall omit to speak of, not having been in any part of them. *Brasile* is little talked of by the *Spaniards*, belonging to the Crowne of *Portugall*, and now part of it to the high and mighty States of the *Netherlands*, who will better satisfie by their Histories, and acquaint *Europe* with the riches that are in it.

I return unto the first part mentioned by me in the Southern and *Peruan* Tract, which was said to bee *Castella aurea*, golden *Castile*, so called for the abundance of gold that is found in it. This containeth the Northern part of *Peruana*, and part of the *Istmus*, which runneth between the North and South Sea. Besides the gold in it, yet it is admirably stored with silver, Spices, Pearls, and medicinall Herbes. It is divided into foure Provinces. The first is called *Castella del oro*; the second, *Nova Andalusia*; the third *Nova Granada*; the fourth, *Caribugena*. *Castella del oro* is situated in the very *Istmus*, and is not very populous by reason of the unhealthfulnesse of the aire, and notwithstanding some favour of the standing pooles. The chief places belonging to the *Spaniards*, are first *Theonimay*, or *Nombre de Dios* on the East; the second, which is six leagues from *Nombre de Dios* is *Portabel*, now chiefly inhabited by the *Spaniards* and Mulattoes, and Blackmores, and *Nombre de Dios* almost utterly forsaken by reason of its unhealthfulnesse. The ships which were wont to anchor in *Nombre de Dios*, and there to take in the Kings treasure, which is yearly brought from *Peru* to *Panama*, and from thence to the North Sea, now harbour themselves in *Portabel*, which signifyeth *Porto bello*, a faire and goodly Haven, for so indeed it is, and well fortified at the entrance with three Castles, which can reach and command one another. The third and chief place belonging to the *Spaniards* in *Castella del oro* is *Panama*, which is on the Westside and upon the South Sea. This City and *Nombre de Dios* were both built by *Didacus de Niquefa*. And *Nombre de Dios* was so called, because *Niquefa* having been crossed with many mischances and misadventures at Sea, when hee came to this place greatly rejoiced, and bad his men now goe on shore in *Nombre de Dios*, in the name of God, in the name of God. But as I have before observed, the aire being here very unhealthy, the King of *Spain* in the yeare 1584. commanded the houses of *Nombre de Dios* to be pulled downe

downe, and to be rebuilt in a more healthy and convenient place : which was performed by *Peter Arigi* in *Portabel*. But being now upon *Nombre de Dios*, I should wrong my Country if I should not set out to the publike view the worth of her people shewed upon this place, and to this day talked on and admired by the *Spaniards*, who doe not only remember *Sir Francis Drake*, & teach their children to dread and fear even his name for his attempts upon *Carthagena* and all the coast about, and especially upon *Nombre de Dios*, and from it marching as farre as the great mountaine called *St. Pablo* towards *Panama*: but furthermore keep alive amongst them (and in this my History it shall not die) the name of one of *Sir Francis Drake* his followers and Captains named *John Oxenham*, whose attempt on this Coast was resolute and wonderfull.

This Noble and gallant Gentleman arriving with three-score and ten souldiers in his company as resolute as himselfe, a little above this Towne of *Nombre de Dios* drew a land his ship, and covering it with boughes, marched over the land with his Company guided by *Black-mores*, untill he came to a river. Where he cut downe wood, made him a Pinnace, entred the South-sea, went to the Island of *Pearles*, where hee lay ten daies waiting for a prize, which happily he got (though not so happily after kept it) for from that Island he set upon two *Spanish* ships, and finding them unable to fight, he speedily made them yeeld, and intercepted in them three-score thousand pound weight of gold, and two hundred thousand pound weight in barres or wedges of silver, and returned safely again to the maine land. And though by reason of a mutiny made by his owne Company he neither returned to his country nor to his hidden ship; yet was it such a strange adventure as is not to be forgotten, in that the like was never by any other attempted, and by the *Spaniards* is to this day with much admiration recorded.

Much part of this *Castella aurea* as yet is not subdued by the *Spaniards*, and so doubtlesse a great treasure lieth hid in it for that people and nation whose thoughts shall aspire to find it out. In the year 1637. when I chanced to be in *Panama* returning homewards to my Country, there came thither some twenty *Indians* Barbarians by way of peace to treat with the President of the Chancery concerning their yeelding up themselves to the government of the King of *Spaine*. But as I was informed afterwards at *Carthagena*, nothing was concluded upon, for that the *Spaniards* dare not trust those *Indians*, whom they have found to have rebelled often against them for their hard usage and carriage towards them. These *Indians* which then I saw were very proper, tall and lusty men, and well complexioned; and among them one of as red a haire as any our nation can shew; they had bobs of gold in their eares, and some of them little peeces of gold made like a halfe moone hanging upon their neither lips, which argues store of that treasure to be amongst them. Unto this country is joyning *Nova Andalusia*, which hath on the North side *Castella del oro*, and on the South *Pern*: The best Cities in it are *Tocoi*, now by the *Spaniards* called *St. Margarets*, and another called *S. Espiritu*. *Nova Granada* is situated on the South side of *Carthagena*, and from the abundance and fertility of *Granada* in *Spaine* it hath taken its name. The chiefe Townes and Cities in it are six. First *Tungia*, which is supposed to be directly under the *Equator*. The second is *Tochaimum*. The third, *Popsian*, the richest of them all. The fourth, *Sta. Fe*, or *St. Faith*, an Archbishops seat, and a Court of Justice and Chancery, governed like *Panama* and *Gustemala*, by a President and six Judges, and a Kings Attorney and two high Justices of Court; who have six thousand ducats a yeer allowed them out of the Kings treasure. The fifth City is *Palma*; and the sixth *Merida*. From *Carthagena* through this country of *Granada* lieth the roade way to *Lima* in *Pern*, all by land. This Country is very strong by reason of the situation of it much amongst stony rockes, which compasse and environ it, and through which there are very narrow passages. Yet it is full of pleasant valleys which do yeeld much fruit, Corne and *Indian* Maiz. There are also in it some Mines of silver, and many golden sanded rivers. *Carthagena*, which is the last Province of *Castella aurea*, hath also a very fruitfull soil, in the which groweth a tree, which if any one do touch, he will hardly escape a poisoning.

The chiefe Cities in it are, first *Carthagena*, which *Sir Francis Drake* in the year 1585. surprised, and (as the *Spaniards* affirme) burned most part of it, and besides inestimable sums of money, took with him from thence 230. peeces of Ordnance. I dare say now it hath not so many; yet it is reasonable well fortified; though not so strong as *Porta-*

bel. It is a faire and gallant City and very rich, by reason of the pearles which are brought to it from *Margarita*, and the Kings revenues, which from all *Nova Granada* are sent thither. It is a Bishops seat, and hath many rich Churches and Cloisters. It is not governed by a Court of Justice and Chancery as *Sta. Fee* is, but only by one Governour. It hath been often moved to the Councell of *Spaine* to have some Gallies made to runne about those Seas, and that *Caribagena* bee the chiefe harbour of them. From this City received *England* the losse of that little Island named *Providence* by us, and by the *Spaniards* *Sta. Catalina*, which though but little, might have been of a great, nay greater advantage to our Kingdom, than any other of our plantations in *America*; which the *Spaniards* wel understood when they set at their strength of *Caribagena* against it; but I hope the Lord hath his time appointed when we shall advantage our selves by it again. To this City of *Caribagena* cometh every yeer also in small Frigots most of the *Indigo*, *Cochinil* & *Sugar*, which is made in the country of *Guatemala*; the *Spaniards* thinking it safer to ship these their goods in little Frigots upon the lake of *Granada* in *Nicaragua*, & from thence to send them to *Caribagena* to be shipped with the Galeons that come from *Portabel* with the treasure of *Peru*, than to send them by the ships of *Honduras*, which have often been a prey unto the *Hollanders*. These frigots were thought by the *Spaniards* to come too neer the reach of *Providence*, and therefore it hath been their care and providence to remove us from this reach of their Frigots. The second great Towne of this Countrey of *Caribagena* is *Abuida*. The third *Sta. Marita*, which is a rich government of *Spaniards*, and doth much fear our *English* and *Holland* ships; it is seated on the river de *Abuida*, otherwise called *St. John* and *Rio di Grand*. There is also *Venezuela* and *New-Calix*, great, rich, and strong Townes. And these three last regions, *Andaluzia Nova*, *Nova Granada*, and *Caribagena* are by the *Spaniards* called *Tierra firme*, or firmeland, for that they are the strength of *Peru* from the North, and the basis of this reversed *Pyraxis*.

Thus have I brought thee, Gentle Reader, round about *America*, and shewed thee the Continent of that biggest part of the world; from the which thou mayst observe the power and greatnesse of the King of *Spain*, who hath got under his Scepter and Dominion so many thousand miles, which were they reckoned up, would be found to be more then are about all *Europe*. But not only is *America* great and spacious by land, but also by sea, glorying in more and some greater Islands, then any other part of the world. It would but cause tediousnesse, and seem prolixity to number them all up, which is a worke hard and difficult, for that many as yet are not knowne nor inhabited, and whose goodnesse and greatnesse is not discovered; for the Islands called *Lucidas* are thought to be foure hundred at least. Therefore I will omit to be over tedious and prolix, and will but briefly speake of the best and chiefe of them, taking them in order from that part of the Continent, *Caribagena*, where even now I left thee. But in the first place calls upon my pen the Jewel Island called *Margarita*, which is situated in the sea nigh unto *Castella aurea*, and not farre distant from two other Islands, named *Cubana* and *Trinidad*. True it is this Island of *Margarita* is by some much slighted for want of corne, grasse, trees and water; in so much that it hath been knowne sometime that an inhabitant of that Island hath willingly changed for a Tun of water a Tunne of wine. But the great abundance of pretious stones in it maketh amends for the former wants and defects; for from them is the name of *Margarita* imposed on that Island. But especially it yeldeth store of pearles, those gemmes which the Latine writers call *Uniones*, because *nulii duo reperimtur indiffereti*, they alwaies are found to grow in couples. In this Island there are many rich Merchants, who have thirty, forty, fifty *Black-mores* slaves only to fish out of the sea about the rockes these pearles. These *Black-mores* are much made of by their Masters, who must needs trust them with a treasure hidden in the waters, and in whose will it is to passe by of those they find, none, few, or many. They are let downe in baskets into the Sea, and so long continue under the water, untill by pulling the rope by which they are let downe, they make their sign to be taken up. I have heard some say that have thus dealt in pearles, that the chiefe meat they feed their *Black-mores* with, is roast-meat, which maketh them their wind & breath longer in the water. From *Margarita* are all the pearles sent to be refined and bored to *Caribagena*, where is a faire and goodly street of no other shops then of these Pearle-dressers. Commonly in the moneth of *July* there is a ship or two at most ready in that Island to carry the Kings revenue, and the Merchants pearles to *Caribagena*. One of these ships are valued commonly at threescore thousand, or fourscore thousand ducats,

and sometimes more; and therefore are reasonable well manned; for that the *Spaniards* much feare our *English* and the *Holland* ships. The yeare that I was in *Caribagena*, which was 1637. a ship of these laden with pearles was chased by one of our ships from the Island of *Providence* (by some it was thought to be our ship called the *Neptune*) which after a little fighting had almost brought the poore *Spaniard* to yeeld his pearles, and had certainly carried away that great treasure (as I was informed in *Caribagena* foure daies after the fight by a *Spaniard* who was in the ship of *Margarita*) had not two other ships of *Holland* come between to challenge from our *English* man that prize, alleading their priviledge from the mighty States united for all prizes upon those seas and coast. And whilst our *English* and *Hollander* did thus strive for the Pearles, the *Spanish* ship ran on shore upon a little Island, and speedily unladed and hid in the woods part of the treasures, and perceiving the *Hollander* coming eagerly in pursuit of it, the *Spaniard* set on fire the ship, and neither *Spaniard*, *English*, nor *Hollander*, enjoyed what might have been a great and rich prize to *England*. From *Caribagena* was sent presently a man of Warre to bring home the pearles hid in the wood, which were not the third part of what was in the ship.

Jamaica is another Island under the power of the *Spaniards*, which is in length 280. miles, and 70. in breadth, which though it exceed *Margarita* in sweet and pleasant streames and fountaines of water, yet is far inferiour to it in riches. Some Hides, some Sugar, and some Tobacco are the chiefe commodities from thence. There are only two Townes of note in it, *Orislana* and *Sevilli*; here are built ships which have proved as well at sea, as those that are made in *Spain*. This Island was once very poulous, but now is almost destitute of *Indians*; for the *Spaniards* have slain in it more then 60000; in so much that women as well here as on the Continent did kill their children before they had given them life, that the issues of their bodies might not serve so cruell a nation. But farre beyond the two former is the Island of *Cuba*, which is three hundred miles long, and seventy broad, which was first made knowne to *Europe* by *Columbus* his second navigation. This Island is full of Forreils, Lakes, and mountaines. The aire is very temperate, the soile very fertill, producing brasse of exact perfection, and some gold though drossie hath formerly been found in it. It aboundeth also with Ginger, Cassia, Masticke, Aloes, some Cinnamon, Cana fistula, Zazaparilla, and Sugar, and hath of fesh, fish, and fowles great plenty; but especially such store of sea Tortois, and Hogs, that the ships at their returne to *Spain* make their chiefe provision of them. My selfe chanced to take physicke there, and whereas I thought that day I should have a fowle or rabbit after my physicks working, they brought me a boyled peece of fresh young Porke, which when I refused to eat, they assured me it was the best dish the Doctors did use to prescribe upon such daies.

The chiefe Cities of this Island are *Santiago* on the Northerne shore, built by *James d. Valasco*, a Bishops seat; and secondly, *Havana*, which is also on the Northerne shore, and is a safe Rode for ships, and the staple of merchandize, and (as the *Spaniards* call it) the key of all the *West-Indies*, to lock up or unlock the doore or entrance to all *America*. Here rideth the King of *Spaines* Navy, and here meet all the Merchant ships from severall ports and Havens of all those Countries afore-named, whether from the Islands or from the Continent: in a word here commonly in the month of *September* is joyned all the treasure as I may say of *America*, all the King of *Spains* reveue, with as much more of Merchant goods, which the yeer that I was there were thought to be in all the worth of thirty millions. And the ships which that yeer there did meet to strengthen one another were 53. saile, and set out sooner that yeer then any other upon the 16. of *September*, having that day a faire wind to waste them homewards through the Gulf of *Bahama*. *Havana* therefore being the store-house of all *Americas* treasure, it hath been the *Spaniards* chiefe care to fortifie that; and truly it is so strong, that the *Spaniards* hold it impossible to be taken, and doe boast of foure impregnable forts, to wit at *Anwerp*, *Millan*, *Pamplona*, and *Havana*. This hath two strong Castles, the one at the point or entrance of the Haven toward the Sea; the other more within, on the other side almost over against it; which two Castles (the passage in the mouth of the haven being so narrow, that one onely ship in breast may enter) will keep and defend the Port from many hundred saile. I was my selfe in the great and chiefe Castle, and truly found it very strong, though by land I judged it might be as easily taken, as other strong Castles here in *Europe* have been overpowered by a great and powerfull army. It hath in

it besides many others, twelve peeces of Ordnance of brasie exceeding great, which they call The twelve Apostles. But for all this strength of the *Havanna*, it could not once defend six or seven millions (according to the *Spaniards* owne account) which the one part of the Kings Navy brought from St. *John de Ulbaa* to the sight of this impregnable fort, and protected with such twelve Apostles. It was as I take it the year 1619. when that ever renowned *Hollander* (whom like unto our *Drake* the *Spaniards* to this day fear and tremble at, calling him *Pie de Palo*, that is, wooden leg) waited at the Cape of St. *Ambry* for the *Spanish* fleet of *Nova Hispania*; which according to his expectation coming, he manly set upon it, saluting and welcoming the great treasure in it with a full side of roaring Ordnance; the sound was more dolefull then joytull and welcome to the *Spaniards*, who thought it safer sleeping in a whole skinned, then to be unquieted by fighting, and with the sight of torne and mangled bodies, by *Mars* his furious and fiery balls, and so called a Councell of warre to resolve what they should doe to save the Kings great treasure which was intrusted to them in those ships. The result of the Councell was to flee and with some discharging of their Ordnance to defend themselves, untill they could put into a river in the Island of *Cuba*, not far from *Havana* called *Matanzas*. There were in that fleet of *Spaine* many gallants and Gentlemen, and two Judges of the Chancery of *Mexico*, which were that yeer sent to *Madrid* as guilty in the mutiny before mentioned, there was in it of my acquaintance a Dominican Frier, named Frier *Jacinto de Hozes*, who had been sent to those parts to visit all the Dominican Cloisters of *New-Spaine*, and had got of bribes at least eight thousand duckats (as I was informed the yeer after by a Frier his companion, whom he sent from *Havana* to *Guatemala* to make knowne to his friends his losse of all that hee had got, and to beg a new contribution to helpe him home) there was also in that fleet *Don Martin de Carillo*, who was the Inquisitor and Commissioner to judge the Delinquents in the fore-mentioned mutiny of *Mexico*, who was thought to have got twenty thousand duckats cleer; besides these a Bishop, and many rich Merchants, all under the command of *Don Juan de Guzman y Torres* Admirall to all the fleet. They all fled for their lives and goods; but the gallant *Hollanders* chased them. The *Spaniards* thinking the *Hollanders* would not venture up the river after them, put into *Matanzas*; but soone after they had entred, they found the river too shallow for their heavy and great bellied Galeons, and so run them up on ground; which done, the better and richer sort escaped to land, endeavouring to escape with what wealth they could; some got out Cabinets, some bags; which the *Hollanders* perceiving came upon them with bullet messengers, which soone overtook and stopt their flying treasures. Some few Cabinets were hid, all the rest became that day the gallant *Pie de Palo* or the wooden legd Capitaines prize for the mighty States of *Holland*. The Frier *Hozes* was got into a boat with his Cabinet under his habit, which had in it nothing but chaines of gold, diamonds, Pearles and pretious stones; and halfe a dozen *Hollanders* leapt into the boat after him, and snatched it from him, as his owne friend and companion related after to us in *Guatemala*. *Don Juan de Guzman y Torres* the Admirall when he came to *Spaine* was imprisoned, lost his wits for a while, and after was beheaded. Thus in the sight of impregnable *Havana* and of those 12 brazen Apostles, was *Holland* glorious and made rich with a seven million prize.

But before I end this Chapter, I may not forget the chiefeft of all the Islands of this new world, which is called *Hispaniola*, & formerly by the natives *Haitie*, which lamenteth the losse of at least three millions of *Indians* murdered by her new Masters of *Spaine*. This Island is the biggest that as yet is discovered in al the world; it is in compass about 1500. miles, and enjoyeth a temperate aire, a fertill soile, rich mines; and trades much in Ambar, Sugar, Ginger, Hides, and Wax. It is reported for certaine that here in twenty daies herbes will ripen and roots also and be fit to be eaten, which is a strong argument of the exact temperature of the aire. It yeeldeth in nothing to *Cuba*, but excellet it in three things especially; first in the finenesse of the gold, which is here more pure and unmixed; secondly, in the increase of the Sugar, one Sugar Cane here filling twenty and sometimes thirty measures; and thirdly, in the goodnesse of the soile for tillage, the corne here yeelding an hundred fold. This fertility is thought to be caused by four great rivers, which water and enrich all the four quarters of the Island; all four doe spring from one only mountaine, which standeth in the very miditt and center of the Country, *Juna* running to the East, *Artibonacum* to the West, *Jacchus* to the North, and *Naibus* to the South.

This

This Countrey is to replenished with Swine and Cattell, that they become wild among the woods and Mountaines, so that the ships that saile by this Island, and want provision, goe here a shore where it is little inhabited and kill of Cattell, wild swine and bores, till they have made up a plentiful provision. Much of this Countrey is not inhabited, by reason that the *Indians* are quite consumed. The chief places in it are first *St. Domingo*, where there is a *Spanish* President and Chancery with six Judges and the other officers belonging to it, and it is the Seat of an Archbishop, who though hee enjoy not so much yearly rent and revenues as other Archbishops, especially they of *Mexico* and *Lima*, yet hee hath an honour above all the rest, for that hee is the primate of all the *Indies*, this Island having been conquered before the other parts, and so bearing antiquity above them all. There are also other rich Townes of trading, as *Sta. Isabella*, *S. Thome*, *S. John*, *Maragna*, and *Porto*. And thus hath my pen run over Sea and Land, Islands and most of the Continent that is subject to the *Spaniards* to shew thee, my Reader, the state of *America* at this time. It is called *America* because *Americus Vesputius* first discovered it; though afterwards *Columbus* gave us the first light to discern these Countries both by example and directions. Besides the factions spoken of before between the Native *Spaniards* and those that come from *Spain*, there is yet further in most parts of it, but especially in *Peru* a deadly faction and mortall hatred between the *Biscains* and the *Spaniards* of *Castile* and *Estremadura*, which hath much shaken the quiet state of it, and threatned it with rebellion and destruction.

There are in all *America* foure Archbishopricks, which are *Sto. Domingo*, *Mexico*, *Lima*, and *Sta. Fee*, and above thirty inferiour Bishops. The politick Administration of Justice is chiefly committed to the two Viceroyes residing at *Lima* and *Mexico*, and with subordination unto them unto other Presidents, Governours, and high Justices, called *Alcaldes Majores*; except it be the President of *Guatemala*, and of *Santo Domingo*, who are as absolute in power as the Viceroyes, and have under them Governours, and high Justices, and are no wayes subordinate to the former Viceroyes, but onely unto the Court and Councell of *Spain*.

CHAP. XIII.

Shewing my journey from Mexico to Chiapa Southward, and the most remarkable places in the way.



Having now gone round *America* with a brief and superficial description of it, my desire is to shew unto my Reader what parts of it I travailed through, and did abide in, observing more particularly the state, condition, strength, and Commodities of those Countries which lie Southward from *Mexico*. It is further my desire, nay the chief ground of this my History, that whilst my Country doth here observe an *English* man, become *American*, travelling many thousand miles there, as may be noted from *St. John de Ulbus* to *Mexico*, and from thence Southward to *Panama*, and from thence Northward againe to *Cartagena*, and to *Havana*, Gods goodnesse may be admired, and his providence extolled who suffered not the meanest and unworthiest of all his Creatures to perish in such unknowne Countries; to be swallowed by North or South Sea, where shipwracks were often feared; to be lost in Wilderness where no tongue could give directions; to be devoured by Wolves, Lions, Tigers, or Crocodiles, which there so much abound; to fall from steepy rocks and mountaines, which seeme to dwell in the aereall Region, and threaten with fearefull spectacles of deep and profound precipices, a horrid and inevitable death to those that climbe up to them; to be eaten up by the greedy Earth which there doth often quake and tremble, and hath sometimes opened her mouth to draw in Townes and Cities; to be stricken with those fiery darts of Heaven and thunderbolts which in winter season threaten the Rockes and Cedars; to be enchanted by Satans Instruments, Witches and Sorcerers, who there as on their own ground play their pranks more then in the parts of Christendome; to be quite blinded with *Romish* Errors and Superstitions, which have double blinded the purblind heathenish Idolaters; to be wedded to the pleasures

and

and licentiousness, which doe there allure; to bee gluttied with the plenty and dainties of fish, flesh, fowles, and fruits, which doe there entice; to bee puffed up with the spirit of pride and powerfull command and authority over the poor *Indians*, which doth there provoke; to bee tied with the Cords of vanity and ambition, which there are strong; and finally to be glewed in heart, and affection to the drosse of gold, silver, Pearls, and Jewels, whose plenty there doth bind, blind, captivate and enslave the soule. Oh I say, let the Lords great goodness and wonderfull providence bee observed who suffered not an *English* stranger in all these dangers to miscarry, but was a guide unto him there in all his travailles, discovered unto him as to the espies in *Canaan*, and as to *Joseph* in *Egypt* the provision, wealth and riches of that world, and safely guided him back to relate to *England*, the truth of what no other *English* eye did ever yet behold. From the moneth of *October* untill *February* I did abide with my friends, and companions the Fryers under the command of Fryer *Calvo* in that house of recreation called *St. Jacinto*, and from thence enjoyed the sight of all the Townes and of what else was worth the seeing about *Mexico*. But the time I was there, I was careful to informe my self of the state of *Philippinas*, whither my first purposes had drawne me from *Spain*. It was my fortune to light upon a Fryer and an acquaintance of some of my friends, who was that yeer newly come from *Manila* whither I was going; who wished mee and some other of my friends as wee tendred our soules good never to goe to those parts, which were but snares and trap-dores to let downe to hell, where occasions and temptations to sinne were daily, many in number, mighty in strength, and to get out of them, *labor & opus*, hard and difficult. And that himself, had not he by stealth gotten away (and that to save his soule) certainly he had never come from thence; who had often upon his knees begged leave of his superiours to returne to *Spain*, and could not obtaine it. Many particulars wee could not get from him, nor the reasons of his coming away; Onely hee would often say that the Fryers that live there are devils in private and in those retired places where they live among the *Indians* (to instruct and teach them; and yet in publick before their superiours and the rest of Fryers they must appeare Saints, they must put on the cloak of hypocrisie to cover their inward devilishness, they must bee clothed with sheeps skins though within they bee *lupi rapaces*, ravenous Wolves, ravening after their neighbours Wives, and ravening after their neighbours wealth; and yet withall this unpreparedness, with this outward, seeming and frothy sanctity, and inward hellishness and deprocated worldliness and covetousness, when the Superiours command and please to send them, they must goe in a disguised manner to *Japan* or *China* to convert to Christianity those people though with perill and danger of their lives. Many such like discourses wee got out of this Fryer; and that if wee went to live there, we must bee subject to the penalties of many Excommunications for triviall toys and trifles, which the Superiours doe lay upon the Consciences of their poore Subjects, who may as soone strive against the common course of nature not to see with their eyes, nor hear with their eares, nor speake with their tongues, as to observe all those things which against sense, reason and nature with grievous censures and Excommunications are charged and fastened upon them. Hee told us further of some Fryers that had despaired under those rigorous courses, and hanged themselves, not being able to beare the burden of an afflicted and tormented Conscience; and of others that had been hanged, some for murdering of their rigid and cruell Superiours; and some that had been found in the morning hanging with their queanes at the Cloister gates, having bene found together in the night, and so murdered and hanged up either by the true Husband, or by some other who bare affection to the woman. These things seemed to us very strange, and wee perceived that all was not gold that glistred, nor true zeal of soules that carried so many from *Spain* to those parts; or if in some there were at first a better and truer zeale then in others, when they came to *Philippinas*, and among those strong temptations, wee found that their zeale was soone quenched. This reason moved mee and threemore of my friends to relent in our purposes of leaving of *America*, and going any further, for wee had learned that maxime, *qui amat periculum, peribit in eo*; and, *qui tangit picem, inquinabitur ab ea*; He that loveth the danger, shall fall and perish in it; and hee that toucheth pitch shall bee smeared by it. Wherefore wee communed privately with our selves, what course wee might take, how wee might that yeer return back to *Spain*, or where wee might abide, if wee returned not to *Spain*. For wee knew

knew, if our Superiour *Calvo* should understand of our purposes to goe no further, he would lay upon us an Excommunication to follow, nay and that hee would secure us in a Cloister prison untill the day and time of our departure from *Mexico*. Our resolutions wee made a secret of our hearts; yet could not I but impart it to one more special and intimate friend of mine, who was an *Irisb Fryer*, named *Thomas de Leon*, whom I perceived a little troubled with so long a journey as was at hand, and found often wishing hee had never come from *Spain*; and as soon as I had acquainted him with what I meant to doe, hee rejoiced and promised to stay with mee. The time was short which wee had to dispose of our selves; but in that time wee addressed our selves to some *Mexican Fryers* and made knowne unto them, that if our Superiour *Calvo* would give us leave; wee would willingly stay in *Mexico* or in any Cloister thereabouts, untill wee could better fit our selves to returne to *Spain* againe. But they being natives and borne in that Countrey discovered presently unto us that inveterate spight and hatred which they bare to such as came from *Spain*; they told us plainly that they and true *Spaniards* born did never agree, and that they knew their Superiors would bee unwilling to admit of us; yet furthermore they informed us that they thought we might be entertained in the Province of *Guaxaca*, where half the Fryers were of *Spain* and half *Criolians* and Natives; but in case wee should not speed there, they would warrant us we should be welcome to the Province of *Guatemala*, where almost all the Fryers were of *Spain*, and did keep under such as were Natives born in that Countrey. It did a little trouble us to consider that *Guatemala* was three hundred leagues off, and that we were ignorant of the *Mexican* tongue, and unprovided of mony and horses for so long a journey. But yet we considered *Philippinas* to be further, and no hopes there of returning ever againe to Chriltendome; wherefore we resolved to rely upon Gods providence onely, and to venture upon a three hundred leagues journey with what smal means we had, and to sell what Books and small trifles we had to make as much money as might buy each of us a horse. But while we were thus preparing our selves secretly for *Guatemala* wee were affrighted and disheartned with what in the like case to ours happened. A Fryer of our company named Fryer *Peter Borrallo*, without acquainting us or any other of his friends with what he intended, made a secret escape from us, and (as after we were informed) took his way alone to *Guatemala*. This so incensed our Superiour *Calvo*, that after great search and enquiry after him, he betook himself to the Viceroy begging his assistance and Proclamation, in the publick Market place, for the better finding out his lost sheep, and alleading that none ought to hide or privily to harbour any Fryer that had been sent from *Spain* to *Philippinas* to preach there the Gospell, for that the foresaid Fryers were sent by the King of *Spain*, whose bread they had eate, and at whose charges they had been brought from *Spain* to *Mexico*, and at the same Kings charges ought to bee carried from *Mexico* to *Philippinas*; and therefore if any Fryer now in the half way should recant of his purpose of going to *Philippinas*, and should by flight escape from his Superiour and the rest of his company, the same ought to be punished as guilty of defrauding the Kings charges. This reason of *Calvo* being a politicke and state reason prevailed so farre with the Viceroy, that immediately hee commanded a Proclamation to bee made against whosoever should know of the said *Peter Borrallo* and should not produce him to his Highnesse, or should harbour him or any other Fryer belonging to *Philippinas* from that time forward untill the ships were departed from *Acapulco*; and that whosoever should trespassse against this Proclamation, should suffer imprisonment at his Highnesse his will and pleasure, and the penalty of five hundred Duckats to bee paid in at the Kings Exchequer. With this Proclamation *Calvo* began to insult over us, and to tell us, wee were the Kings slaves under his conduct, and that if any of us durst to leave him (for hee was jealous of most of us) hee doubted not but with the Viceroy his assistance and Proclamation he should find both us and *Peter Borrallo* out to our further shame and confusion. This did very much trouble us, and made my *Irisb* friend *Thomas de Leon* his heart to faint, and his courage to relent, and utterly to renounce before mee his former purposes of staying and hiding himselfe; yet hee protested to mee, if I was still of the same minde, hee would not discover mee; but seeing his weaknesse, I durst not trust him, but made as if I were of his minde. Thus I betooke my self to the other three of my friends (of whom one was *Antonio Melendez* that had beene the first cause of my coming from *Spain*) whom I found much troubled, doubtfull and wavering what course to take.

They

They considered if wee should flie, what a shame it would be to us to be taken and brought back to *Mexico* as prisoners, and forcedly against our wills to be shipped to *Phippina*; they considered further if they went, what a slavish and uncomfortable life they should live in *Phippina*, without any hopes of ever returning again to *Chilendom*; yet further they looked upon the Viceroy his Proclamation, and thought it hard to breake through the opposition and authority of so great a man; and lastly in the Proclamation they beheld the estimation that *Calvo* had of them, as of slaves and fugitives to be cried in a publicke Market place. But after all these serious thoughts our only comfort was that *Peter Borrallo* was safely escaped, and (as we were informed) had been met farre from *Mexico* travailing alone towards *Guatemala*. And we thought, why might not we scape as well as he. Then I told them that my resolution was to stay, though alone I returned either to *Spain*, or tooke my journey to *Guatemala*; the rest were glad to see mee resolute, and gave their hands that they would venture as much as I should. Then we set upon the time when we should take our flight, and agreed that every one should have a Horse in readinesse in *Mexico*, and that the night before the rest of our company should depart from *Mexico* towards *Acapulo* to take shipping, we should by two and two in the evening leave *St. Jacinto*, and meet in *Mexico* where our Horses stood, and from thence set out and travaile all the night, continuing our journey so the first two or three nights and resting in the day time; untill we were some twenty or thirty leagues from *Mexico*. For we thought the next morning *Calvo* awaking and missing us would not stop the journey of the rest of his company for our sakes, to search and inquire after us; or if he did, it would be but for one day or two at the most, till he had inquired for us in *Mexico*, or a dayes journey in some of the common or beaten rodes of *Mexico*, where we would be sure he should not heare of us; for we also agreed to travell out of any common or knowne rode for the first two or three nights. This resolution was by us as well performed and carried on, as it had been agreed upon, though some had been fearfull that a counsell betwixt foure could never be kept secret, nor such a long journey as of nine hundred miles be compassed with such small means of money as was among us, for the maintenance of our selves and Horses; for after our Horses were bought, we made a common purse, and appointed one to be the purse-bearer, & found that amongst us all there were but twenty ducats, which in that rich and plentifull country was not much more then here twenty *English* shillings, which seemed to us but as a morning dew, which would soone be spent in provender only for our Horses; yet we resolved to goe on, relying more upon the providence of God, then upon any earthly means; and indeed this proved to us a far better support then all the drosse of gold and silver could have done; and we reckoned that after we had travailed forty leagues from *Mexico*, and entred without feare into the rode, we had for our twenty ducats near forty now in our common purse. The reason was, for that most commonly we went either to Friers Cloisters who knew us not, or to rich farmes of *Spaniards*, who thought nothing too good for us, and would not onely entertaine us statelily, but at our departure would give us money for one or two daies journey. All our feare was to get safely out of *Mexico*, for wee had been informed that *Calvo* had obtained from the Viceroy officers to watch in the chiefest rodes both day and night untill he had departed with his Trainee of Friers to *Acapulo*.

And for all the Viceroy his Proclamation we got a true and trustie friend, who offered to guide us out of *Mexico* by such a way as we needed not to feare any would watch for us. So with our friend and a map about us to guide us after he had left us in the morning, we cheerfully set out of *Mexico* about ten of the clock at night, about the middle of February, and meeting no body about *Guadalupe* which was the way wee went out (though the contrary way to *Guatemala*, which on purpose we followed for feare the true way should be beset) we comfortably travailed all that night, till in the morning we came to a little Town of *Indians*, where we began to spend of our small stock, calling upon the *Indians* for a Turkey and Capon to break our fast with our friend and guide before he returned to *Mexico*. Breakfast being ended we took our leaves of him, and went to rest, that we might be more able to performe the next nights journey, which was to Crosse the Countrey towards *Atilco*, which is in a valley of twenty miles about at least, and doth give it the name of the valley of *Atilco*, and is a valley much mentioned in all those parts, for the exceeding great plenty of wheat that is there reaped every yeer, and is the chief sustenance and reliefe of *Mexico* and all the Townes about. In this Valley

Valley are many rich Townes of *Spaniards* and *Indians*; but we shunned to enter into them, and went from farme to farme out of the high-waies, where we found good entertainment of those rich Farmers and Yeomen, who bare such respect unto the Preills, that truly they thought themselves happy with our company. Here we began to shake off all fear, and would no more like Bats and Owles fly in the night, but that we might with more pleasure enjoy the prospect of that valley, and of the rest of the Country we travailed by day; yet still crossing the Country, we went from thence towards another valley called the valley of *St. Pablo*, or *Pauls* valley, which though it be not as big as the valley of *Atlixco*, yet is held to be a richer valley; for here they enjoy a double harvest of wheat every year. The first seed they sow is watered, and growes with the common season raine; and the second seed which they sow in summer as soone as their first harvest is in, when the season of raine is past, they water with many Springs which fall into that Valley from the mountaines which round beset it, and let in the water among their wheat at their pleasure, and take it away when they see fit. Here live Yeomen upon nothing but their farms, who are judged to be worth some twenty thousand, some thirty thousand, some fourty thousand duckats. In this valley we chanced to light upon one farme where the Yeoman was country-man to my friend *Antonio Melendez*, borne in *Segovia* in *Spaine*, who for his sake kept us three daies and nights with him. His table was as well furnished as the table of a Knight might be, his side board full of silver boules and cups, and plates instead of trenchers; he spared no dainties which might welcome us to his table, no perfumes which might us delight in our chambers, no mulick (which his daughters were brought up to) which might with more pleasure help to passe away the time. To him *Antonio Melendez* made known our journey towards *Guatemala*; and from him we received directions which way to steere our course untill we might be thoroughly free from feare and danger; here we began to see the great providence of God, who had brought us being strangers to such a friends house, who not onely welcomed us to him, but when we departed gave us a guide for a whole day, and bestowed upon us twenty duckats to helpe to bear our charges. From this valley wee wheeled about to *Tasco*, a Towne of some five hundred Inhabitants which enjoyeth great commerce with the Country about by reason of the great store of Cotton-wool which is there. And here we were very well entertained by a Franciscan Frier, who being of *Spaine* made the more of us, knowing we came from thence. Here we got into the Rode of *Guaxaca*, and went to *Chantla*, which also aboundeth with Cotton-wool, but in it we found no entertainment but what our owne purses would afford us. Next to this place is a great Town called *Zumpango*, which doth consist of at least eight hundred Inhabitants, many of them very rich both *Indians* and *Spaniards*. Their commodities are chiefly Cotton-wooll, and Sugar, and Cochinil. But beyond this Town are the mountaines called *la Misteca*, which abound with many rich and great Townes, and doe trade with the best lilke that is in all that Country. Here is also great store of Wax and Hony; and *Indians* live there who traffique to *Mexico* and about the Country with twenty or thirty mules of their owne, chopping and changing, buying and selling commodities, and some of them are thought to be worth ten, or twelve, or fifteen thousand duckats, which is much for an *Indian* to get among the *Spaniards*, who thinke all the riches of *America* little enough for themselves. From these mountaines of *Misteca* to *Guaxaca* we saw little observable, only Townes of two or three hundred inhabitants; rich Chnrches, well built, and better furnished within with lampes, candlesticks, crownes of silver for the severall statues of Saints; and all the way wee did observe a very fruitfull soil for both *Indian* and *Spanish* wheat, much Sugar, much Cotton-wool, Hony, and here and there some Cochinil, and of Plantins, and other sweet and luscious fruit great store; but above all great abundance of cattel, whose Hides are one of the greatest commodities that from those parts are sent to *Spaine*. Some reported that about *Misteca* formerly much gold had been found, and the *Indians* were wont to use it much, though now they will not be knowne of any, lest the greedinesse of the *Spaniards* bring them to misery and destruction, as it hath their neighbours about them. Also it is reported for certaine that there are Mines of silver, though as yet the *Spaniards* have not found them.

There are many Mines of Iron which the *Spaniards* will not busie themselves in digging, because they have it cheaper from *Spain*; from hence wee came to the City of *Guaxaca*, whis is a Bishops Seat, though not very bigge, yet a faire and beau ifull City,

to behold. It standeth fourescore leagues from *Mexico* in a pleasant valley from whence *Cortez* was named *Marques del Valle*, the Marquesse of the Valley. This City, as all the rest of *America*, (except the Sea Towns lyeth open without walls, Bulwarkes, Fors, Towers, or any Cattle, Ordnance or Ammunition to defend it. It may consist of at the most two thousand Inhabitants, and are governed by a *Spanish* High Justice called *Alcalde Major*, whose power reacheth over all the Valley, and beyond it as farre as *Nixapa*, and almost to *Tecoantepeque*, a Sea Towne upon *Mar del Zur*. The Valley is of at least fifteen miles in length, and ten in breadth, where runneth in the midst a goodly River yeelding great store of fish. The Valley is full of Sheep and other Cattell, which yeeld much Wooll to the Clothiers of the City of *Angels*, store of Hides to the Merchants of *Spain*, and great provision of flesh to the City of *Guauxaca*, and to all the Townes about, which are exceeding rich, and doe maintaine many Cloisters of Fryers, and Churches with stately furniture belonging unto them. But what doth make the Valley of *Guauxaca* to bee mentioned farre and neer, are the good horses which are bred in it, and esteemed to bee the best of all the Country. In this Valley also are some farmes of Sugar, and great store of fruits, which two sorts meeting together have cried up the City of *Guauxaca* for the best Conserve and Preserves that are made in *America*. In the City there are some six Cloisters of Nuns and Fryers, all of them exceeding rich; but above all is the Cloister of the Dominican Fryers, whose Church treasure is worth two or three Millions; and the building of it the fairest and strongest in all those parts, the walls are of stone so broad, that a part of them being upon finishing when I was there I saw Carts goe upon them, with stone and other materials. Here are also two Cloisters of Nuns, which are talked of far and neer not for their religious practices, but for their skill in making two drinks which are used in those parts, the one called *Chocolate* (whereof I shall speake heereafter) and the other *Atole*, which is like unto our *Almond* Milk, but much thicker, and is made of the juyce of the yong *Maiz* or *Indian* wheat, which they so confect with spices, musk, and sugar, that it is not only admirable in the sweetnesse of the smell, but much more nourishing and comforting the stomack. This is not a Commodity that can bee transported from thence, but is to be drunk there where it is made. But the other, *Chocolate*, is made up in Boxes, and sent not onely to *Mexico* and the parts thereabouts, but much of it is yearly transported into *Spain*. This City of *Guauxaca* is the richer by reason of the safety they enjoy for the carriage of their Commodities to and from the port of *St. Iohn de Ulbua* by the great River *Altavado* which runneth not far from it; and although the Barks come not to the City of *Guauxaca*, yet they come up to the *Zapoteco*, and to *St. Ildesonso*, which is not farre from *Guauxaca*. And the carelesse of the *Spaniards* here is to be wondred at, that all along this River which runneth up into the heart of their Country, they have built as yet no Castles, Towers, or watch-houses, or planted any Ordinance, trusting onely in this, that great ships cannot come up, as if Frigots or smaller Barks, such as they themselves use, may not bee made to annoy them. But of *Guauxaca* I shall say no more, but conclude that it is of so temperate an aire, so abounding in fruits, and all provision requisite for mans life, so commodiously situated between the North and South Sea, having on the North side *St. Iohn de Ulbua*, and on the South *Tecoantepeque* a small and unfortified harbour, that no place I so much desired to live in whilst I was in those parts as in *Guauxaca*, which certainly I had attempted as I travailed by it, had I not understood that the Criolian or Native Fryers were many and as deadly enemies unto those that came from *Spain* as were the *Mexicans*. And this their spite and malice they shewed whilst wee were there, to an ancient and grave old Fryer Master in Divinity, who living had been for learning the Oracle of those parts. This old man died when I was there, and because when hee lived they could pick no hole in his Coat, being dead they searched his chamber, and finding in a Coffer some moneys which hee had not made knowne to his Superior when living (which they would reduce to a sinne against his professed poverty, called Propriety, and subject to the censure of Excommunication) they reported that hee had died excommunicated, and might not enjoy their Christian buriall in the Church or Cloister, and so ignominiously buried their old Divine, and with him his Credit and reputation in a grave made in one of thier Gardens. A thing much talked on as scandalous to all the City and Country, which they salved with saying hee was excommunicated; but the truth was, he was of *Spaine*, and therefore at his death they would

would shew their spight unto him. For certainly they could not doe it for the sinne of Propriety which by him had been committed in his life; and to them all may be well said what our Saviour said to the Jewes bringing to him a woman found in adultery to be stoned, Whosoever of you is without sinne, let him cast the first stone; for all of them, yea even the best Fryers that live in *America*, are some way or other, much or lesse guilty of the sinne of Propriety which they professe and vow against. With this which wee saw with our eyes, besides what with our eares wee had heard of discords and factions amongst them, wee thought *Guaxaca* was no place for us to live in; so after three daies we made haste out of it, and departed towards *Chiapa*, which lyeth three hundred miles from thence. And for our comfort in our further travelling we were informed in *Guaxaca*, that in most Towns of the Rode through that country, the *Indians* had an order from the High Justice to give unto Fryers travelling that way either horse to ride on, or to carry their carriages and provision of food freely without mony, if they had none, so that at their departure they should write it down in the town booke what they had spent, not abiding above foure and twenty houres in the Town; which expences of travellers the *Indians* afterwards at the yeers end of their ordinary Justice and Officers were to give an account of with carrying their Towne book unto the *Spanish* Justice to whom they belonged, and by so doing these expences were allowed of to be discharged by the common Towne Purse or Treasure, for the which a common plot of ground was allotted to bee yeerly sownen with wheat or *Maize*. With this charitable relief and help of the Townes wee conceived better of the rest of our long journey, and hoped to compasse it with more ease. And so joyfully we went on, and the first place where wee made triall of this order was at a great Town called *Amiquera*, where wee freely called for our fowles and what other provision we saw in the Town, fed heartily on them, and the next day when we were to pay and to depart, wee called for the Town booke, subscribed our hands to what wee had spent our selves and horses, and went our way, praising the discretion of the Justices of that Country, who had settled a course so easy and comfortable for us, especially who had but shallow purses for our long journey. Yet we found in some small Towns that the *Indians* were unwilling, and (as they alleaged) unable to extend this Charity to us, being foure in company, and bringing with us the charge likewise of foure horses, which made us sometimes make the longer journey that wee might reach unto some great and rich Towne. The next to *Amiquera* in that Rode is *Nixapa*, which is of at the least eight hundred Inhabitants, *Spaniards* and *Indians*, standing upon the side of a River, which wee were informed was an arme of the great River *Alvarado*. In this Town is a very rich Cloister of Dominican Fryers, where we were well entertained; & in it there is a picture of our Lady, which superstitiously they fancy to have wrought miracles, and is made a pilgrimage from far and neere, and consequently hath great riches and Lampes belonging unto it. This is counted absolutely one of the wealthiest places of all the Countrey of *Guaxaca*; for here is made much Indigo, Sugar, *Cochinill*, and here grow many trees of *Cacao*, and *Achiotte*, whereof is made the *Chocolate*, and is a commodity of much trading in those parts, though our *English* and *Hollanders* make little of it when they take a prize of it at Sea, as not knowing the secret virtue and quality of it for the good of the stomach. From hence we went to *Aguanico* and *Capalita*, also great Towns standing upon a plain Country full of Sheep and Cattell, abounding with excellent fruits, especially *Pines* and *Sandia's*, which are as big as Pumpions, and so waterish that they even melt like snow in the mouth, & cool the heat which there is great, by reason it is a low and Marshy kind of ground, lying neer the South Sea. The next chief Town and most considerable after *Capalita* is *Tecamequepete*; this is a Sea Town upon *Mar del Sur*, and a harbour for small vessels, such as Trade from those parts to *Acapulco* and *Mexico*, and to *Realejo* and *Guatemala*, and sometimes to *Panama*. Here upon some occasions, Ships which come from *Peru* to *Acapulco* doe call in. It is a port no farther safe, then that no *English* or *Holland* Ships doe come thereabouts, which if they did, they would there find no resistance, but from thence would finde an open and easie Rode over all the Countrey. Upon all this South Sea side from *Acapulco* to *Panama*, which is above two thousand miles by land there is no open harbour, but this for *Guaxaca*, and *La Trinidad* for *Guatemala*, and *Realejo* for *Nicaragua*, and *Golfo de Salinas* for small vessels in *Costa Rica*, and all these unprovided of Ordnance and Ammunition, all open doores to let in any Nation that would take the pains to surround

the World to get a treasure. This port of *Tecoantepeque* is the chiefe for fishing in all that Countrey; wee met him in the wayes sometimes with fifty, sometimes with a hundred mules together laden with nothing but salt fish for *Guaxaca*, City of the *Angels* and *Mexico*. There are some very rich Merchants dwell in it, who trade with *Mexico*, *Peru* and *Philippinas*, sending their small vessels out from Port to Port, which come home richly laden with the Commodities of all the Southerne or Easterne parts. From hence to *Guatemala* there is a plaine Rode along the Coast of the South Sea, passing through the Provinces of *Soconusco* and *Sucutepeques*; but wee aiming at *Chiapa* tooke our journey over the high Rocks and Mountaines called *Quilenes*, travailing first from *Tecoantepeque* to *Estepeque*, and from thence through a desert of two dayes journey, where wee were faine to lodge one night by a spring of water upon the bare ground in open wide fields, where neither Town nor house is to be seene, yet thatcht lodges are purposely made for travellers. This plaine lyeth so open to the Sea, that the wind from thence blow so strongly and violently that travellers are scarce able to sit their horses and mules; which is the reason no people inhabit there, because the windes teare their houses, and the least fire that there breaks out, doth a great deale of mischief. This plaine yet is full of Catell, and Horses and Mares, some wild, some tame; and through this windy Champaigne Country with much adoe we travailed; though my self thought I should even there end my daies, for the second day being to reach to a Towne, and my three friends riding before, thinking that I followed them, evening now drawing on they made more haile to find the Town. But in the meane while my horse refused to goe any further, threatening to lie downe if I put him to more then hee was able. I knew the towne could not be far, and so I lighted, thinking to walke and lead my horse, who also refused to be led, and so lay downe. With this a troop of thoughts beset mee, and to none I could give a flat answer. I thought if I should goe on foot to finde out the Towne and my company and leave my horse there sadled, I might both lose my selfe, and my horse and saddle; and if I should find the Towne and come in the morning for my horse, the plaine was so wide and spacious, that I might seeke long enough, and neither finde him, nor know the place where I left him; for there was nothing neere to marke the place, nor where to hide the saddle, neither hedge, tree, shrub, within a mile on any side. Wherefore I considered my best course would bee to take up my lodging in the wide and open wilderness with my horse, and to watch him lest hee should wander and stray away, untill the morning or untill my friends might send from the towne to see what was become of mee; which they did not that night, thinking I had taken my way to another Town not far from thence, whither they sent in the morning to enquire for me. I looked about therefore for a commodious place to rest in, but found no choice of lodgings, every where I found a bed ready for mee, which was the bare ground; a bolster onely or pillow I wanted for my head, and seeing no bank did kindly offer it selfe to ease a lost stranger, and pilgrime, I unsaddled my weary Jade, and with my saddle fitted my head in stead of a pillow. Thus without a supper I went to bed in my Mothers owne bosome, not a little comforted to see my tired horse pluck up his spirits, and make much of his supper, which there was ready for him, of short, dry and withered grasse, upon which hee fed with a greedy and hungry stomach, promising mee by his feeding that the next day he would performe a journey of at least thirty or forty miles. The poor beast fed apace, my careful eye watched him for at least an houre, when upon a suddain I heard such an hideous noise of howling, barking, and crying, as if a whole Army of dogs were come into the wilderness, and howled for want of a prey of some dead horse or mule. At first the noise seemed to be a pretty way off from mee; but the more I hearkened unto it, the higher it came unto mee, and I perceived it was not of dogs by some intermixt shrillings as of Christians, which I observed in it. An observation too sad for alone man without any helpe or comfort in a wilderness, which made my haire to stand upright, my heart to pant, my body to bee covered with a fearfull sweat as of death. I expected nothing else, not knowing from whence the noise proceeded; sometimes I thought of Witches, sometimes of devils, sometimes of *Indians* turned into the shape of beasts, (which amongst some hath bene used) sometimes of wild and savage beasts, and from all these thoughts I promised my self nothing but sure death, for the which I prepared my selfe recommending my soule to the Lord, whilst I expected my body should bee a prey to cruell and mercilesse beasts; or
some

some instruments of that roaring Lion who in the Apostle goeth about seeking whom he may devour. I thought I could not any waies prevail by flying or running a way, but rather might that way runne my selfe into the jaws of death; to hide there was no place, to lie still I thought was safest, for if they were wild beasts, they might follow their course another way from mee, and so I might escape. Which truly proved my safest course, for while I lay sweating and paining, judging every cry, every howling and shrieking an alarm to my death, being in this agony and fearfull conflict till about midnight, on a suddain the noise ceased, sleep (though but the shadow of death) seized upon my wearied body, and forsook me not, till the mornings glorious lamp shining before my slumbering eyes and driving away deaths shadow greeted me with life & safety. When I awaked, my soul did magnifie the Lord for my deliverance from that nights danger, I looked about & saw my horse also neer the place where I had left him, I saddled him presently with desire to leave that wildernesse and to find out my company, and to impart unto them what that night had happened unto mee; I had not rid above a mile, when I came to a brook of water, where were two waies, the one straight forward along the desert, where I could discover no Towne, nor houses, nor trees in a prospect of five or six miles at least; the other way was on the left hand, and that way some two or three miles off I saw a wood of trees, I imagined there might be the Towne; I followed that way, and within a quarter of a mile my Horse beganne to complaine of his poore provender the night before, and to slight me for it; I was faine to light and lead him; and thus againe discouraged with my Horse, and discomforted for the uncertainty of my way, looking about I spied a thatch house on the one side of the way, and one on Horse-back, who came riding to mee; it was an *Indian* belonging to that house which was the farme of a rich *Indian*, and Governour of the next Towne, of whom I asked how farre it was to the Town of *Essepeque*, he shewed me the trees, and told me that a little beyond them it stood, and that I should not see it untill I came unto it. With this I got up againe and spurred my fullen jade, untill I reached unto the trees, where he was at a stand and would goe no further. Then I unsaddled him, and hid my saddle under some low shrubs, and leaving my horse (whom I feared not that any would steale him) I walked unto the Towne which was not above halfe a mile from thence, where I found my three friends were waiting for me, and grieved for the losse of me, had sent to another Towne to enquire for me; it was the least thought they had that I had been a lodger in the desert. When I related unto them and to the *Indians* the noise and howling that I had heard, the *Indians* answered me that that was common musick to them almost every night, & that they were Wolves and Tigris which they feared not, but did often meet them and with a sicke or howling did scare them away, and that they were onely ravenous for their Fowles, Colts, Calves or Kids. After a little discourse I returned with an *Indian* to seeke my Horse and saddle, and in that Towne I found my wearied *Mexican* beast, and hired another to *Ecatepeque* whither we went all four friends again in company. Where note that in this plain and champaigne country of *Tecoantepeque* are five rich and pleasant Townes full of fruits and provision of victuall, all ending in *Tepeque*, to wit, *Tecoantepeque*, *Essepeque*, *Ecatepeque*, *Sanatepeque*, and *Tapanatepeque*. Now from *Ecatepeque* wee could discover the high mountaines of *Quelencu*, which were the subject of most of our discourse to *Sanatepeque*, and from thence to *Tapanatepeque*. For we had been informed by *Spaniards* and *Travellers* in the way, that they were the most dangerous mountaines to travail over that were in all those parts, and that there were on the top of them some passages so narrow, and so high, and so open to the boisterous winds that came from the South-sea, which seemed to lie at the very bottom of them; and on each side of these narrow passages such deep precipices among rocks, that many times it had happened, that the wind blowing furiously had cast downe Mules laden with heavy carriages downe the rockes, and likewise Horse-men had been blown down both Horse and man. The sight of the rockes and mountaines did terrifie us, and the report of them did much affright us; so that in all this way we did conferre which way to take, whether the road way to *Gustemala* which lieth under these mountaines along the coast by the Country of *Sacumucoc*, from whence (though out of our way) we might have turned to *Chiapa*, or whether we should steer our right course to *Chiapa* over those mountaines, which we had been informed, we might safely passe over if the winds did not blow too boisterously. We resolved that when wee came to *Tapanatepeque* we would choose our way according as

the winds did favour or threaten us, but howevert to *Chiapa* we would goe, because there we had under flood was the Superiour and Provinciaall of all the Dominicans of those parts, (to whom we ought to address our selves) and also because we would see that famous and much talked of Province of *Chiapa*. In *Sanatepeque* wee met with a Frier who gave us stately entertainment, and from thence gave us *Indians* to guide us to *Tapanatepeque*, and a letter to the chiefe of the Towne (which also was at his command) to give us Mules to carry us, and *Indians* to guide us up the mountaines. Here the rest of our Horses also failed us, but their weariness was no hinderance to us, for the *Indians* were willing to give us as much or more then they had cost us, because they were true *Mexican* breed, and all the way we went to *Chiapa* and through that country to *Guatemala* the Towns were to provide us of Mules for nothing. We came to *Tapanatepeque* (which standeth at the bottome and foot of *Quelenes*) on Saturday night, and with the letter we carried were very much welcomed and entertained well by the *Indians*.

This Towne is one of the sweetest and pleasantest of any we had seen from *Guaxaca* thither, and it seems God hath replenished it with all sorts of comforts which Travellers may need to ascend up those dangerous and steepy rocks. Here is great plenty of cattel for flesh, and rich *Indians* which have farmes, called there *Estantias*, in some a thousand, in some three or four thousand head of cattell, fowles here are in abundance, fish the best store and choicest of any Towne from *Mexico* thither, for the Sea is hard by it, and besides there runneth by it a small river which yeelds divers sorts of fish. From the mountaines there fall so many springs of water, that with them the *Indians* water at their pleasure their gardens which are stored with much herbage and fallets. The shade which defends from the heat (which there is great) is the daughter of most sweet and goodly fruit trees, and of Orange, Lemmon, Citron and Fig leaves. The Sabbath morning was so calme that we desired to make use of it, lest by longer delays the winds should stay us, or force us to the coast of *Socomusco*. But the *Indians* intreated us to bee their guests at dinner, not doubting but the weather would hold, and promising us to provide us strong and lusty Mules, and provision of fruits, and fried fish, or fowles, or what our selves desired. We could not refuse this their kind offer, and so stayed dinner with them. After dinner our Mules were brought, and two *Indians* to guide us and carry our provision, which was some fried fish, and a cold roasted Capon, with some fruit as much as might suffice us for a day, for the chief ascent and danger is not above seven leagues, or one and twenty *English* miles, and then beyond the top of the mountaines three miles is one of the richest farms for Horses, Mules, and Cattell, in all the Countrey of *Chiapa*, where we knew we should be welcomed by one *Don John de Toledo*, who then lived there. Though these mountaines shew themselves with severall sharp pointed heads, and are many joyned together, yet one of them is only mentioned in that Countrey by the Travellers, which is called *Maquilapa*, over the which lieth the way to *Chiapa*. To this high, steepy, and craggy *Maquilapa* we tooke our journey after dinner, and were by the proud mountaine that night well entertained, and harboured in a green plot of ground resembling a meadow, which lay as a rib of the one side of that huge and more then *Pyrenian* monster. The *Indians* comforted us with the shews of faire weather, and told us that they doubted not but the next day at noone we should be at *Don John de Toledo* his *Estantia*, or farme. With this we spread our supper upon the green table-cloth, and at that first meale eat up our Capon and most of the provision of our cold fried fish, leaving only a bit for our mornings breakfast, the springs of water like Conduit-pipes, trickling downe the rocks, gave us melodious musick to our supper; the *Indians* fed merrily, and our Mules contentedly, and so the fountaine Nymphes sung us asleep till morning, which seemed to us as calme and quiet as the day before, and encouraged us hastily to snatch that bit which we had left and so up from breakfast, to say merrily, upto *Maquilapa*. We had not winded the mountaine upwards much above a mile, when the higher we mounted, the more we heard the wind from above whistling unto us, and forbidding us to goe any further. We were now halfe way up, and doubtfull what wee should doe, whither go forward, or returne to *Tapanatepeque* to eat more fish, or to stay where we were a while untill the weather were more calme, which we thought might be at noone or towards evening. The *Indians* told us that about a mile further there was a fountaine of water, and a lodge made under trees on purpose for Travellers that were

were either benighted or hindered by the winds to compass their journey up the mountaine. Thither we went with much adoe, hoping the wind would fall; but still the higher we climbed, the stronger we felt the breath of *Eolus*, and durst not like the people called *Pisilli* (of whom *Herodotus* writeth) march against him, least as they in stead of a victory found a grave in the sands where they met to oppose him, so we in stead of ascending should by a furious blast be made to descend into those deep and horrid precipices, which truly threatned death, and offered themselves to be a grave unto our torne and mangled bodies. We liked the fountaine very well, and the lodge better for the harbour of trees which compassed it about. The wind kept on breathing, and we stood still fearing, till the day was so farre spent that we had no hopes of going back, or forward. Of any supper we despaired that night, who would have been glad now to have picked a bone of a Capons leg, or to have sucked a fishes head, and saw there was nothing for us, but only to feed our hungry stomackes with the remembrance of the plenty the night before. Thus gazing one upon another, and sometimes looking down to the fountaine, sometimes looking up to the trees, we perceived amongst them a Lemmon tree, full of small and very sowre green Lemmons. It was not with us as with *Tantalus* who could neither enjoy the fruit above him, nor the waters beneath him; we could and did most greedily catch and snatch the Lemmons, which were sawce for no meate, but onely to fill an empty stomack; with them wee supped and tooke our rest. The next morning the wind was rather stronger then calmer, and we as strong the second day as the first in our purpose of staying there, and not turning our backs like Cowards. The *Indians* were also willing to stay yet one day longer; so we fell to our breakefast of Lemmons which were somewhat coole to a fasting stomack, and relished nothing the better with a draught from the cleere fountaine. And of what we left on the tree we made our dinner and supper, adding to our water what we saw the *Indians* did drinke, who had their small bags full of powder of their Maiz, of which first making cakes as dry as bisket they then grind them to powder, and when they travaile, carry with them that powder to drink with water. This wee thought might bee more nourishing to us, then Lemmons and water onely, and so for that day we bought of them halfe a bagfull of powder giving for it in our want and necessity four rials, or two *Englisch* shillings, which out of *Maquilapa* and that our feare of starving might not be worth above a penny; and yet this was but weake nourishment for our feeble bodies. Thus we waited all Tuesday for the laying of the wind, resolving the next morning either to goe up the hill, or downe againe to *Tapanatepeque*. But on wednesday morning the wind seeming to be somewhat laid, we purposed to stay till noon hoping then it would be sure travailling; but it ceased not but rather increased a little; whereupon one of our company resolved to goe upwards a mile or two on foot, and trie the passages, and the danger of the wind and to bring us word againe; for we thought our feare might be greater then the danger, who had heard much talke, but had not as yet seen any thing worth our feare. Up therefore went our friend, who staid from us neer two houres, and then returning backe he told us he thought we might get up leading our Mules by the bridles. But what with further questions and debates the time passed away, so that we thought it might be too late; and for that day we put off our journey untill the next morning, resolutely purposing to goe forwards altogether if the wind were not much increased. So that day we fell again to our green crabby Lemmons, water and Maiz powder, all which we found had much weakened our bodies and feared if we continued there any longer they might hasten our death. Wherefore on Thursday morning (the wind being as the day before) commending our selves first unto the protection of that Lord whom the winds and sea obey, we mounted up upon our Mules (leaving our names written in the barke of a great tree, and the dayes we stayed there without food) and so went upward. Wee perceived no great danger in the wind a great while, but some steps and passages upon stony rockes we feared for the narrowesse of them, and there we lighted, thinking our selves safer upon our own two feet, then upon the four feet of a beast. But when we came up to the very top of *Maquilapa* (which signifies in that tongue, A head without haire) we perceived truly the danger so much talked of, and wished our selves again with our green Lemmons in the way to *Tapanatepeque*, for we found it indeed a head without haire, a top without a tree or branch to shelter a fearfull Traveller; the passage that lieth open to the sea may be no more than a quarter of a mile, but the height and narrowasse of it stupefieth, for if we looke on

the one side, there is the wide and spacious South-sea lying so deep and low under it that it dazzleth the eyes to behold it; if we looke on the other side, there are rocks of at least six or seven miles depth, whose sight doth make the stoutest and hardest heart (though like themselves) to quake and quiver, so that here the sea expects to swallow, there the rocks threaten to tear with a downfall, and in the midst of those dangers in some places the passage is not above an ell broad. We needed better cordials for that quarter of a mile then feeding three daies upon green Lemmons and water, and durst not man our selves so much as to goe through it upon our Mules; we lighted, and gave the *Indians* our Mules to lead, and we followed them one by one not daring to walk upright for fear of head giddinesse with looking on either side, but bowing our bodies we crept upon our hands and feet as neere unto the trackes which beasts and Travailleurs had made as we could without hindering our going. And when we had got to the end of that passage, and where the mountaine was broader, and the trees promised reliefe, we then looked back boldly, and accused of folly both our selves and all other Travailleurs that sought no other way though ten miles about, to avoid that danger both for man and beast. From thence joyfully we made haste to *Don John de Toledo*, who made us welcome and gave us some warme broath to comfort our stomacks, which were so weak that no sooner had we eat any thing, but presently we cast it up againe; till after many sups of broath and wine we recovered strength towards night, and eat our suppers; there we stayed two daies; and thus thoroughly refreshed we went to *Acapala* a very great Towne of *Indians* in the Province of *Chiapa*, standing by the same river that passeth by *Chiapa*, which is called *Chiapa de Indios*, or *Chiapa of the Indians*, to distinguish it from another *Chiapa*, called *Chiapa Real* the Roiall *Chiapa*, or *Chiapa de Espanoles*, *Chiapa of the Spaniards*. From *Acapala* we went first to *Chiapa of the Indians*, which standeth almost as low as *Maquilsa* is high, seated upon a river as broad as is the *Thames* at *London*, which hath its spring from the mountaines called *Cuckumatlanes*, in the rode from *Chiapa Real* to *Guatemala*, and runnes towards the Province of *Zoque*, where it entreth into the river of *Tabasco*. But of this *Chiapa* I will speak a little more in the next Chapter, and now onely say that here we were joyfully entertained by those Fryers, who looked upon us as members belonging to the Corporation of that their Province, and assured us that the Provinciaall and chief Superiour would be very glad of our coming, who wanted *Spanish* Fryers to oppose the *Criolians* and *Natives* who strived to get a head as they had done in *Mexico* and *Guaxaca*. Here we understood that the Provinciaall was not above one daies journey from thence. Here also we met with our friend *Peter Borallo*, who had come before us alone, and made his escape from *Mexico*; he comforted us much with the good and kind usage which he had found there; yet he told us how *Calvo* was gone with the rest of his traine from *Mexico* to *Acapulco*, & from thence was shipped with them to *Philippinas*; but that at his departure he had writ a letter of bitter complaints unto the Superiour of *Chiapa* and *Guatemala* against him and us four, desiring the Provinciaall not to entertaine us, but to send us backe to *Mexico*, to be shipped from thence the next yeer unto *Philippinas*; which letter was not regarded; but much slighted by the Provinciaall. After we had been a week feasted in *Chiapa*, we thought it now fit to present our selves to the Provinciaall (whose name was Fryer *Peter Alvarez*) that from him we might receive judgement, and know whether we should stay in that Province, or be forced to return to *Spain*, for in no other part of *America* we could be entertained. We found the Provinciaall in a little Towne called *St. Christopher*, between *Chiapa of the Indians* and the Roiall *Chiapa*, recreating himselfe in the shady walkes, which are many sweet and pleasant in that small Towne; where also there is store of fish, and great abundance of rare, and exquisite fruits. He entertained us very lovingly with faire and comfortable words, with a stately dinner and supper, and before we went to bed, to shew his humility hee did unto us what Christ to his Disciples, hee washed our feet. The first day he said little or nothing unto us concerning our continuing in that Country; but the next day he discovered unto us his full resolutions, with many wise and cunning sophismes. For first he read unto us the letter which *Calvo* had writ unto him against us, glossing upon it how ill we had done in forsaking our first love and calling to *Philippinas*, and the danger many *Indian* soules might bee in by reason of our not going thither to convert and instruct them, whose gifts and abilities he supposed might have been more profitable and comfortable to those soules, then those who in our stead and absence should be sent amongst them

them. And secondly, hee told us how wee had frustrated the King of *Spaines* good hopes of us, who had allowed us means and maintenance from *Spain* to *Mexico*, hoping that by us many soules of *Indians* in *Philippinos* might bee saved. Thirdly, hee told us that hee looked upon us as his prisoners, in whose power it was to imprison us, and to send us prisoners to *Mexico* to the Viceroy, to bee shipped from thence to *Manila*, according to *Calvo* his demand. But for the present hee would not let us know what hee meant to doe with us; Onely hee bad us not to bee discouraged, but to be merry and recreate our selves, and that after dinner wee should know more from him, when he had received an answer to a Letter which hee had writ unto the City of *Chiapa* concerning the disposall of our persons. These reasonings of the grave and old Provinciall did not a little sad our hearts; for the losse of soules, and King of *Spain* his intentions and charity charged upon us, and imprisonment spoke of by the by, were words which seemed of a very high strain, and so could hardly bee digested by us; this morning's breakfast had quite taken away from us our stomach to our dinner. And thus wee departed from the presence of the venerable Fryer *Peter Alvarez*, and betooke our selves to a shady walke under Orange trees belonging to the house where this Superiour was. In this shade wee conferred with our selves upon the words of *Alvarez*, and finding them of so high a nature, as involving soules, a King, and imprisonment, we thought verily wee should bee sent back to *Mexico*, and from thence like fugitive slaves bee forced to *Philippinos*. Here my hopes of ever more seeing *England* were lost; *Antonio Mendez* his heart panted, wished himself again upon the highest top of *Maquilapa*; another wished himself with old *Calvo* at Sea sailing to *Manila*, though it were but to help him scrape his rusty Cannons of Bacon.

The motion was made to make an escape from *Alvarez*, as wee had done from *Calvo*; but to this answer was made, that whither so ever wee went, not knowing the Country, wee should bee discovered; and that put case the worst, wee should bee sent to *Mexico*, wee might better escape in the way, then there where wee were. At last I told the rest, that I could conceive no hard nor harsh usage from that smiling and loving countenance of the Provinciall, nor after that his low and humble act of washing our feet the night before; and that I thought verily hee wished us well for having come so far to offer our selves for fellow-labourers in that harvest of souls belonging to his charge, and whom wee knew wanted sitch as we were newly come from *Spain* to oppose the Criolians or Natives faction in that Province; all leading furthermore the example of our friend and companion *Peter Borallo*, whom hee had already incorporated into that Province, and could doe no lesse with us without partiality and acceptance of persons. And lastly, my opinion was, that in case wee ought not to be entertained there, yet the Provinciall would not send us back to *Mexico*, there to be disgraced and affronted, but would give way unto us to returne to *Spain*, or whither else wee would, with some relief and money in our purses. Whilst wee were thus troubled, and in this sad and serious discourse, old *Alvarez* it seemed had been eying of us from his window, and as *Joseph* could not long suppress and keep in the expressions of a loving and tender heart unto his brethren; so this good Superior perceiving that we were troubled with what he had said unto us, sent his companion unto us to comfort us; which wee easily perceived by his discourse when hee came unto us. For as soone as hee came hee asked us why wee were so sad and melancholy? hee told us, the Provinciall also had observed that wee were troubled. But, said hee, bee of good cheare; bee confident that the Provinciall wisheth you very well, and needeth such as you are, and having come into his Dominion to thrust your selves upon his mercy, by harsh and unkind usage hee will not doe what Martiall Law forbids a hard hearted Souldier to doe unto his enemy upon such termes. Many such comfortable words did he speak unto us; and told us further that the Provinciall had been much censured by the Criolian party for entertaining of *Peter Borallo*; and that now they would stir worse seeing four more come to weaken their faction; and therefore hee desired to bee well advised concerning us, and to carry our businesse with such discretion, as might give little offence to those who were apt to judge and censure the best of all his actions. And finally hee did assure us, that wee should never bee sent back as prisoners to *Mexico* by the Provinciall, who in case hee could not entertaine us in *Chiapa*, or *Guatemala*, would further us with all his favour, and friends, and money in our purses to return againe to *Spain*. These reasons were heart fainting Cordials unto us, and stomach preparatives to a good

good dinner, to which by the sound of a bell wee were invited. When wee came in, the loving, smiling, and fatherly countenance of the good Provinciall did cheare us more then all the cheare that waited for us upon the table in severall dishes, all which were seasoned to our palates with the fauce of the comfort, which the Provincials messenger had brought unto us in the shady Orange walke in the garden. The great provision of fish and flesh, with fruits and sweet meats were yet to us a strong argument that wee were very welcome; for what wee fed on that day, might well become a Noble mans Table; Besides in many passages of our discourse wee perceived that good old *Alvarez*, his heart was overjoyed with our comming to him. Dinner being ended the Provinciall desired to play a game at Tables with us round about, saying hee would not win our money, because hee judged us poore after so long a journey. But thus hee fetled the game and sport; that if he did win, we should pay for him five *Pater Nosters*, and five *Ave Marias*; but if wee wun, wee should win our admittance, and Incorporation into that Province. This sport pleased us well, for our winnings wee judged would be to us more profitable at that time, then to winne pounds, and our loosings we valued not; besides wee were confident all went well with us, when from the favour of the Dice, wee might challenge that favour which with many weary journeys wee had come to seek above foure hundred miles. The sport began, and wee young blades taking one by one our turnes were too hard for the old man, who (as wee perceived) would willingly bee the loser, that his very losses might speake unto us what through policy and discretion hee would not utter with words. Yet wee boldly challenged our winnings, which as soone as wee had ended our game were now surely confirmed unto us by the returne of an *Indian* messenger, who that morning had been sent to the City of *Chiapa* for advice and counsell from the Prior and the chiefe of the Cloister concerning our disposal, and now was returned with an answer from the Prior, who in his letter exprest great joy unto the Provinciall for our comming, and so from the rest of the Seniors of the Cloister, and did earnestly begge of the Superiour, that hee would send us to him to bee his guesse, for that our case had bene his owne some ten years before, for hee had also at *Mexico* forsaken his company to *Philippina*, and fled to *Guatemala*, where for his learning and good parts hee had been as a stranger much envied by the Criolian faction; but now hee hoped hee should have some to side with him against such as spighted and maligned him. Old *Alvarez* was much taken with his letter, and told us hee must pay what hee had lost, and that the next day he would send us to *Chiapa*, there to abide untill hee tooke further care of us, to send us to other parts of the Country, to learne the *Indian* languages, that wee might preach unto them. This discourse being ended wee betooke our selves again to the Garden which smelled more of comfort then before dinner, and to our shady walks which now offered us a safer protection then they had done in the forenoone, countenancing that protection which we had gained from the Provinciall.

Here we began to praise God, who had looked upon us in our low estate, not forgetting the wife and politick Provinciall, who though hee had lost his games for our comfort, wee would not hee should lose our prayers, which there were offered up to God for his health and safety. And so till supper time wee continued our discourse in the Garden full of mirth and pleasant jests, then wee had done before dinner, snatching now and then at the Oranges and Lemmons, which were there both sowe and sweet, eating of some, and casting some one at another, but especially at him who had wisdome himselfe with *Calvo* dressing his rusty Bacon, whom we strived to beat out of the garden by force of Orange and Lemmon bullets; which sport we continued the more willingly, because wee perceived the good Provinciall stood behind a Lattice in a Balcony beholding us, and rejoycing to see our hearts so light and merry. Wee had no sooner beat *Calvo* his friend out of the garden, when the bell to supper sounded a retreat to us all, and called us again to meet our best friend *Alvarez*, who had furnished us a Table againe like that at noone. After supper hee told us that the next morning hee would send us to *Chiapa*, for that the Prior had writ unto him he would meet us in the way with a Breakfast at a Towne called *St. Philip*; wherewith wee were contented very highly of our selves to see that Provincials and Priors were so forward to feast us. Yet before we went to bed, the Provinciall would try againe a game at Tables with every one of us, to see if now hee could beat us that had been too hard for him at noon. The matter of our game was now altered, and what we played for was this; if the Provinciall

vinciall wun, wee were to bee his prisoners, (which mystery wee understood not till the next day, for the old man was crafty and Politick, and knew hee could winne of us when he listed, for hee was an excellent gamester at Tables) but if wee wun of him, hee was to give us a box of *Chocolatte*, which was a drinke wee liked very well. The Game went on, and wee every one of us one by one were losers, yet understood not how wee should bee his prisoners, but slighted our losses. Yet for all this the merry Provinciall told us, hee was fory wee had lost, and wished wee might never bee prisoners to a worse enemy then hee; and that wee should perceive it, hee would comfort us each one as a prisoner with a box of *Chocolatte*, to drinke for his sake, and to comfort our hearts, when most wee should find them discomforted for our losses. Wee understood not his meaning till the next day at noone, but thought it was a jest and a word of sport and mirth, like many such like which in his discourse had come from him.

With this wee tooke our leaves, and went to bed with light and herry hearts. In the morning two Mules of the Provinciall and two of his Companion were saddled for us, and at least a dozen *Indians* on horse back waited for us to conduct us up a steepy hill and through woods to the Towne of *St. Philip*. After our breakfast the good Provinciall embraced us, and bad us farewell, desiring us to pray for him; and not to bee discouraged by any thing that might befall us, assuring us hee wished us very well, and would doe what lay in his power for our good; yet so, that hee must use policy and discretion to stop the mouths of the *Criolians*, whom hee knew hated both him and us. Thus we departed with Waits and Trumpets sounding before us, which rebounded an Echo all the way up the hill from us to old *Alvarez* whom we had left in a low bottomme compassed about with hills on every side. Wee had no sooner ascended up to the top of the Mountaine, when we discovered a little Valley, and in it the City of *Chiapa* of the *Spaniards*, with two or three small Villages, of which one was *St. Philip* at the bottom of the Mountaine, which we were to descend. The Trumpets which still went sounding before us were a sufficient and loud Alarme to *St. Philips* Inhabitants of our coming, and a warning for the speedier hastening of our second breakfast, for the which the cold morning aire (which wee found somewhat piercing upon the Mountaine) had whetted and through prepared our stomachs. We had not got down the Mountaine halfe a mile, when wee met with a matter of twenty gallant *Indians* on horseback with their trumpeters sounding before them, and behind them came upon a stately Mule the Prior of *Chiapa*, (whose name was Father *John Baptist*) a merry fat Fryer, who calling us his brethren fugitives from *Philippinas*, told us wee were welcome to that country, and to him especially, and that in the next *St. Philip* he would shew us better sport, then any *St. Philip* in all the *Philippinas* Islands could have shewed us, if wee had gone thither. Thus with a pleasant discourse, and many merry conceits from the good Prior wee soone came downe the hill, where the whole Village of *St. Philip* waited for us both men and women, some presenting unto us nosegaies, others hurling Roses and other flowers in our faces, others dancing before us all along the street, which was strowed with herbes and Orange leaves, and adorned with many Arches made with flowers and hung with garlands for us to ride under untill wee came to the Church, where for halfe an houre wee were welcomed with the best musick from the City of *Chiapa*, which the Prior had hired to come with him to entertaine us. Our Musick being ended, fat Father *John Baptist* stood up and made a short speech unto the *Indians*, giving them thanks for their kind and pompous entertainment of us his speciall friends, and that their soules might gaine by it, hee granted unto them a plenary indulgence of all their sinnes past to bee gained by as many of them as should visit that Church the next Lords Day either before or after noon. And thus from the Altar wee went unto our breakfasting Table, which was furnished with many well seasoned dishes of salt and well peppered and spiced meats, all fit to make us relish better a cup of *Spanissh Pier Ximeny* which the Prior had provided for us. After our salt meats, came such rare and exquisite sorts of sweet meats made by *John Baptist* his best devoted Nuns of *Chiapa*, that the like wee had not seen from *St. John de Ulbus* to that place. These were to prepare our stomachs for a Cup of *Chocolatte*, with the which we ended our breakfast. But whilst all this was gallantly performed by the Prior, it was a hard Riddle unto us, what hee often repeated unto us saying, Brethren break your fast well, for your dinner will be the meanest as ever yee did eate in your lives, and now enjoy this sweet liberty which will not last long unto you. Wee observed the words, but knew

knew not what to make of them, till wee came unto the Cloister. After our breakfast the *Indians* shewed us a little sport in the Market place, running races on horse back, and playing at *luego de Canas*, which is to meet on horseback, with broad Targets to defend their heads and shoulders while passing by they hurle Canes, or darts one at another, which those *Indians* acted with great dexterity.

Thus the good Prior of *Chiapa* feasted us, and permitted us to enjoy our liberty as long as it seemed it had been agreed upon by letters between him and the Provinciall, which was till it might be dinner time in the Cloister of *Chiapa*, where wee were to bee before noone. The time drew neere, and we had from *St. Philip* to the City of *Chiapa* some two *Englisb* miles to ride; Wherefore the Prior commanded our Mules to bee brought; the waits and trumpets gave warning to the Town of our departure; and so with many horsemen, with dances, Musick and ringing of Bells wee were as stately and joyfully conducted out of the Town, as wee had been induced into it. At the first halfe miles end the Prior gave thanks unto the *Indians*, and desired them to return, the Cloister being neer where wee expected another kinde of entertainment; not using in the City and Cloister that pompe and state, which in the Country might bee allowed. The *Indians* tooke their leaves of us; and on we went with onely two as guides before us. Within halfe a mile of the City, the Prior and a companion of his stopped, and tooke out of his pocket an order from the Provinciall, which he read unto us, to this effect, That whereas we had forsaken our lawfull Superior *Ca'vo* in the way to *Philippinas*, and without his licence had come unto the Province of *Chiapa*, hee could not in conscience but inflict some punishment upon us before hee did enable us to abide there as members under him; therefore hee did strictly command the Prior of *Chiapa*, that as soone as wee should enter into his Cloister, hee should shut us up two by two in our chambers, as in prisons, for three daies, net suffering us to goe out to any place, save onely to the publick place of refectiō (called Refectory) where all the Fryers met together to dine and sup, where at noon time we were to present our selves before all the Cloisters sitting upon the bare ground, and there to receive no other dinner, but only bread and water, but at supper we might have in our chambers, or Prisons, what the Prior would be pleased to allow us. This was the Penance enjoined upon us by the wise and cunning Provinciall. This newes at the first was but sowre sawce, or a dry Postpast after a double sumptuous breakfast; it was a dolefull ditty to us after our Musick, and dances, to heare of a treble fast after our feast; to heare of imprisonment after so great liberty. We now began to remember the Provincialls winnings at Tables the night before, and the mystery thereof, and began to thinke how comfortable his boxes of *Chocolate* would be unto us after a meale of bread and water. Now wee called to minde the short dinner the Prior had told us at *St. Philips* wee were like to have that day, and of the liberty hee bad us then make much of. But the good Prior seeing us sad upon a suddaine, and our countenances changed, smiled upon us, wishing us not to thinke the worse of him, nor of the Provinciall, who did that out of Policy, and to stop the Criolians mouths, whom he knew would murmur, if no punishment were inflicted upon us. Hee assured us, after our imprisonment, of honours and preferments, and that as long as wee were with him, wee should want no encouragement; and that after a bread and water dinner hee could send us to our chambers a Supper, that should strongly support our empty stomacks, and furre and line them well for the next foure and twenty houres. With these encouragements on we went to the Cloister of *Chiapa*, where wee were welcomed by most of the Fryers, but in some few wee noted a frowning and disaffected countenance. We were no sooner conducted to our chambers, when the bell sounded to dinner for the rest, and cryed aloud to us Penance with bread and water. Downe wee went to the common dining place, and thanks being given, the Fryers sitting round the tables, wee foure *Philippinian Jonabs* (so some Criolians were pleased to term us) betook our selves to the middle of the Refectory, where without cushions, stools, seats or forms, wee sate upon the bare ground crosse legged like Tailors, acting humility now for our disobedience unto slovenly *Calva*. While the first dish was presented round the tables, to each of us was presented a loafe of reasonable bignesse, and a pot of pure Crystall water, whereof wee fed and dranke most heartily though with full stomacks from a double breakfast before. Yet even here in this publick Act of shame and disgrace (which wee knew was usuall among Fryers for lesse faults then curs) we had this comfort, that we had

a Prior and Provinciall for friends, and that that punishment came from a friendly hand, whose Chocolate wee had to comfort our fasting bodies; and secondly, wee knew that wee should have that night in our prison chambers a better supper than any of those before us, who fed upon their three or foure dishes. But thirdly, it was our comfort that at that very time a Criolian Frier also sat upon the ground with us (of whose company we had been informed by some friends before wee went into the refectory) for some love letters which had been intercepted between him and a Nun of that City, tending to much uncivility, and breaking their oath of professed chastity. But when I perceived this Frier to looke discontentedly upon us, I chose my place as neer unto him as I could, and hearing him mutter within himselfe against us, calling us disobedient *Philippinian Jonabs*, I softly and friendly spoke unto him with these two following Hexameters, which suddenly came unto my mind about his misdeameor.

Si Monialis Amor te turpia scribere fecit,

Ecece tibi frigide prebent medicamina lymphæ.

But my good neighbour snuffing and puffing at my suddain muse, seemed to be more discontented then before, and would faine withdraw himselfe by degrees from mee, not rising up (for that was not lawfull to doe till dinner had been ended) but wrigling his elbowes and shoulders scornfully from me, whom in like manner I followed, cleaving friendly to him with this verse,

"Solamen misero est socios retinere Panettes,

Hee thought I followed him to steale away his loose from him. This new found word, *Panettes*, had almost choaked him, had not hee made use of the medicinall water which stood before him; of the which he dranke a good draught, whereby I perceived his courage against me and my friends was tamed, and I told him, I hoped his burning wanton love was cooled.

Thus with my Criolian neighbours company my bread and water went down cheerfully; and dinner being ended, we were again conducted to our chambers, where we dranke a cup of old *Alvarez* his Chocolate. The *Castilian* Friers flocked unto our prisons, some to talke with us, some bringing us conserves and sweet-meats, others other dainties, which they had prepared to helpe our digestion of bread and cold water. My suddain verses to my Criolian neighbour were presently noyfed about the Cloister, and were the chiefe subject of our talke that afternoone. Our supper was provided for us according to the promise and generous spirit of, the Prior, who also honoured our prison that night with his owne and two other Friers company supping with us all in one chamber together. And thus we passed our three daies of imprisonment merrily and contentedly, wishing we might never suffer harder usage in any prison then we had done in this, which was not to us such a punishment as did bring with it the privation of any liberty of enjoying the company of friends, of feasting with them; but onely the privation of the liberty of our legs to walke about those three daies; and this rather an ease then a punishment, for that we wanted rather rest, then much stirring after so long and tedious a journey as we had compassed from *Mexico* thither. We were no sooner set at liberty, but we presently found the Provinciall and Prior ready to dispose of us so, that in lieu of our imprisonment we might receive honor and credit. Two were sent into the Country to learne some *Indian* language, that so they might be beneficed and preach unto the *Indians*. My selfe and another desired to goe farther to *Guatemala*, that there we might practise Philosophy and Divinity in the famous Universitie of that City. Nothing that we desired was denied unto us, onely the time was thought not fit untill *Michaelmas*, because then the schooles were renewed, and new Orders setled. In the meane time the Provinciall having also heard of my verses *ex tempore* to the Criolian Frier, and knowing that the *Latin* tongue is better grounded in *England* then among the *Spaniards* (who abuse poore *Priscian* and daily breake his pate with foolish solécismes) and considering the want hee had of a Master of the *Latine* tongue to supply a Lecture of Grammar and Syntax to the youtnes of *Chiapa* in a schoole in that Cloister, which brought a sufficient yearly stipend unto the Covent, desired me to accept of that place untill such time as he should take care to send me to *Guatemala*, promising me all encouragements in the meane time fitting, and that I should when I would go about to see the Country (which I much desired) and also that out of the schoole annuity I should have my allowance for bookes,

and other necessaries. I could not but accept of this good offer; and so with this imployment I remained in that City from *Aprill* to the end of *September*, where I was much esteemed of by the Bishop and Governour, but especially by the Prior, who would never ride about the Country for his recreation, but he would take me with him, whereby I had occasion to note concerning the Province, riches, commodities, and government of *Chiapa*, what in the ensuing Chapter I shall faithfully commend unto the Presse.

CHAP. XV.

Describing the Countrey of Chiapa, with the chiefeſt Townes and Commodities belonging unto it.

THough *Chiapa* in the opinion of the *Spaniards* be held to be one of the poorest Countries of *America*; because in it as yet there have been no mines discovered, nor golden sands found in the rivers, nor any haven upon the South-sea, whereby commodities are brought in and carried out, as to *Mexico*, *Guaxaca* and *Guatemala*; yet I may say it exceedeth most Provinces in the greatness and beauty of fair Towns, and yeldeth to none except it be to *Guatemala*; nay it surpasseth all the rest of *America* in that one, and famous and most populous Towne of *Chiapa* of the *Indians*. And it ought not to be so much slighted by the *Spaniards* as it is, if they would looke upon it as standing between *Mexico* and *Guatemala*, whose strength might be all *Americas* strength, and whose weakenesse may prove dangerous to all that flourishing Empire, for the easy entrance into it by the river of *Tabasco*, or for its neer joyning and bordering unto *Yucatan*. Besides, the commodities in it are such as doe uphold a constant trading and commerce amongst the inhabitants themselves, and with other neighbouring Countries, and from no one part of *America* doth *Spain* get more *Cochinil* then from one of the Provinces of *Chiapa*; the Townes also being great and populous, by their yearly pole tribute do adde much to the King of *Spaines* revenues.

This Country is divided into three Provinces, to wit, *Chiapa*, *Zeldales*, and *Zoques*; whereof *Chiapa* it selfe is the poorest. This contains the great Towne of *Chiapa* of the *Indians*, and all the Townes and farmes North-ward towards *Maquilapa*, and West-ward the Priory of *Comitlan*, which hath some ten Townes, and many farmes of Cattle, Horses, and Mules subject unto it; and neighbouring unto it lieth the great valley of *Capanabastla*, which is another Priory reaching towards *Soconusco*. This valley glorieth in the great river, which hath its spring from the mountaines called *Cuchumatlanes*, and runneth to *Chiapa* of the *Indians*, and from thence to *Tabasco*. It is also famous for the abundance of fish, which the river yeeldeth, and the great store of Cattel which from thence minister food and provision both to the City of *Chiapa*, and to all the adjacent Townes. Though *Chiapa* the City, and *Comitlan* as standing upon the hills, bee exceeding cold, yet this valley lying low is extraordinary hot, and from *May* to *Michaelmas* is subject to great stormes and tempests of thunder and lightning. The head Towne where the Priory stands, is called *Capanabastla*, consisting of above eight hundred *Indian* inhabitants. But greater than this is *Ixquintenangoa* at the end of the valley and at the foot of the mountaines of *Cuchumatlanes* Southward. And yet bigger then this is the Towne of *St. Bartholomew* Northward at the other end of the valley, which in length is about forty miles, and ten or twelve only in breadth. All the rest of the Townes lie towards *Soconusco*, and are yet hotter and more subject to thunder and lightning, as drawing neerer unto the South-sea coast. Besides the abundance of cattell, the chiefe commodity of this valley consisteth in Cotton-wooll, whereof are made such store of mantles for the *Indians* wearing, that the Merchants far and neer come for them. They exchange them to *Soconusco* and *Xuchitepeques* for *Cacao*; whereby they are well stored of that drinke. So that the inhabitants want neither fish (which they have from the river) nor flesh (for that the valley abounds with Cattell) nor clothing (for of that they spare to others) nor bread, though not of wheat, for there growes none; but *Indian* Maiz they have plenty of; and besides they are exceedingly stored with fowles and Turkeys, fruits, Hony, Tobacco and Sugar-canes.

canes. Neither is money here nor in *Chiapa* so plentiful as in *Mexico* and *Guaxaca*; and whereas there they reckon by *Patacones*, or pieces of Eight; here they reckon by *Tostones* which are but halfe *Patacones*. Though the river be many waies profitable to that valley, yet it is cause of many disasters to the inhabitants, who lose many times their children, and their Calves and Colts drawing neere to the water-side, where they are devoured by *Caymanes*, which are many and greedy of flesh, by reason of the many prizes they have got. The City of *Chiapa Real*, is one of the meanest Cities in all *America*, consisting of not above four hundred householders *Spaniards*, and about an hundred houses of *Indians* joyning to the City, and called *el barrio de los Indios*, who have a Chappell by themselves. In this City there is no Parish Church, but onely the Cathedrall, which is mother to all the inhabitants. Besides, there are two Cloisters, one of *Dominicans*, and the other of *Franciscans*, and a poore Cloister of *Nuns*, which are burdensome enough to that City. But the *Jesuites* having got no footing there (who commonly live in the richest and wealthiest places and Cities) is a sufficient argument of either the poverty of that City, or of want of gallant parts, and prodigality in the gentry, from whose free and generous spirits they like Horse-leeches are still sucking extraordinary and great almes for the Colledges where they live; but here the Merchants are close handed, and the Gentlemen hard, and sparing, wanting of wit and Courtiers parts and bravery, and so poore *Chiapa* is held no fit place for *Jesuites*. The Merchants chiefe trading there is in *Cacao*, Cotton-wool from the adjacent parts of the Country, in Pedlers small wares, and in some Sugar from about *Chiapa* of the *Indians*, in a little *Cochinil*; for commonly the Governour (whose chiefe gaine consisteth in this) will not suffer them to be too free in this commoditie, lest they hinder his greedy traffique. These have their shops all together in a little Market-place before the Cathedrall Church, built with walkes and Porches, under which the poore *Indian* wives meet at five a clock at evening to sell what flap and drugges they can prepare most cheape for the empty *Criolian* stomackes. The richer sort of these Merchants go and send yet further to *Tabasco* for wares from *Spain*, such as wines, Linnen cloth, Figs, Raisins, Olives, and Iron, though in these commodities they dare not venture too much, by reason the *Spaniards* in that Country are not very many, and those that are there, are such as are loath to open their purses to more then what may suffice nature. So that what are *Spanish* commodities are chiefly brought for the Friers who are the best and joviallest blades of that Countrey. The Gentlemen of *Chiapa* are a by-word all about that Country, signifying great Dons (dones; gifts or abilities I should say) great birth, phantastick pride, joyned with simplicity, ignorance, misery and penury. These Gentlemen will say they descend from some Dukes house in *Spain*, and immediately from the first Conquerors; yet in carriage they are but clowns, in wit, abilities, parts and discourse as shallow brained, as a low brooke, whose waters are scarce able to leap over a pibble stone; any small reason soone tries and tires their weak braine, which is easily at a stand when sense is propounded, and slides on speedily when non-sense carrieth the streame. The chiefe families in this City, are named, *Cortez*, *Solis*, *Velasco*, *Toledo*, *Zerna*, and *Mendoza*. One of these, who was thought the chiefe in my time, called *Don Melchor de Velasco*, one day fell into discourse with mee concerning *England*, and our *English* nation, and in the best, most serious and judicious part of his Don-like conference, asked me whether the sun and moone in *England* were of the same colour as in *Chiapa*, and whether *English* men went barefoot like the *Indians*, and sacrificed one another as formerly did the Heathens of that Countrey? and whether all *England* could afford such a dainty as a dish of *Frixoles* (which is the poorest *Indian* daily food there, being black and dry Turkey or French beanes boyled with a little biting Chille or *Indian* pepper with garlicke, till the breath become as black as any Inke) And whether the women in *England* went as long with child, as did the *Spanish* women? And lastly, whether the *Spanish* nation were not a farre gallanter nation then the *English*? When I perceived my Don ran farther and farther into his simple and foolish questions, I cut him off suddenly, telling him, Sir, it is long since I came out of *England*, if you give me leave to recollect my memory, I will answer some of these your hard questions the next time we meet (thinking hereby to try my Dons wit further, whether he could perceive I jeared him.) To which my simple Don replied, I pray Sir doe, and whensoever you come, you shall be welcome to a dish of *Frixoles*. With this I tooke my leave of him, and at our farewell, he againe desired

mee to study well his questions, and to return him a speedy answer, whereby I was more confirmed in my conceit of my *Don*, that he was either *tonto* or *bobo*, foole or simple. Yet thought I my best way to answer is to answer a fool according to his folly, and so resolved within two or three daies to return unto him some simple answer according to his simple and foolish questions. Therefore speedily I singled out a good occasion of meeting with him at his own house, who welcomed me with much *Spanisb* gravity, and sitting down before *Dona Angela*, his painted wife and Angel; began to answer, or more to jeer his *Donskip*. I began with the Sun and Moon, telling him that they were planets, & had their special influences upon severall nations, as all planets have upon mans body. And so they did shew themselves according to the inclination of the people of severall Kingdomes. And therefore as the *Spaniards* were much inclined to *Venus* and to beauty, and not contenting themselves with the naturall beauty of their faire Ladies, would yet have Art add to nature by the skill and use of the best painting colours; so these glorious planets of the Sun and Moon among the *Spaniards*, and especially in *Chiapa*, shewed themselves most comely, bright, glorious and beautifull, working the like inclination to beauty upon, and in all *Spaniards*. My instance was in the land of the Blackmores, where I told them that their bodies were black, and that among them the Sun appeared with a dark and sad visage. Here my *Don* cried out; An excellent example. I gave him yet a second instance from the Eclipse of the Sun; which being eclipsed, made all the Earth, mens faces and bodies seeme of a darke, or yellow colour, to shew the proportion or sympathy of sublunary odies to that high and overmastering planet. To this that good *Don* replied, *senor no se puede decir mas*, sir, nothing can be answered or said more or better. *Vengamos agora a Inglatierra*, Let us draw now to *England*. To which I answered him, that in *England* the Sun and Moon appeared halfe yeer of one colour, and half of another; for the women one half yeer it appeared as in *Spain* and *Chiapa*, beautifull and glorious, for that naturally without painting they yeilded to none in beauty. But the other half yeer it appeared as red as blood, or scarlet; and the reason might easily bee guessed at, for that no Nation is more warlik and high spirited then the *English*, whose very clothes were fiery, wearing more scarlet then any nation in the World; as hee might perceive by their coming so much with their ships to the *Indian* Coasts to fight with the *Spaniards*; and that as they delighted to goe in red, and to bee like the Sun, so naturally they were brought to those Seas to single out such ships as from *America* carried the rich Commodity of *Cochinill*, whereof they make more use then *Spain* it selfe to dye their cloaths and Coats withall. Here my *Don* jogged his head, and replied; Sir, I thought no nation had been so like the Sun as the *Spaniards*; for I have read that when our Ancestors came to conquer these parts, the *Indians* called them, *hijos del Sol*, that is, sons of the Sun, being comely and gallant, and more like the Sun then any other people. To this I answered him. Sir, no doubt but you are like the Sun here, and none more glittering and bright, your very hatbands shining with Pearls and Diamonds like the brightnesse of the Sun; But as I said before the Blackmores are like their Sun, so I say, the *English* is like their Sun, which is red, and so doe and will affect to wear Scarlet, as long as any *Cochinill* is to be found in the *Indies*.

Now *Don Melchor* began to understand mee, and told mee, never man had satisfied him with better reasons then my self. Hee thanked mee heartily, and told mee, hee thought no Gentleman in *Chiapa* could tell so well as himself now why the *English* ships came so much upon their Coasts; and that my discourse had satisfied him to the full. Hee desired mee to goe on to his other questions. To his second demanding whether the *English* went barefoot like the *Indians*, I told him I thought that the Count of *Gondomar*, (who had been many years Ambassadour from *Spain* in *England*) had satisfied all the *Spaniards* that doubt, who coming from *England* to *Madrid*, and being there asked by some Courtiers, whether *London* was as big as *Madrid*, and as well peopled; he made answer, that hee thought there was scarce a hundred left in *London*. Hee proved it from the use and custome of his own Countrymen of *Spain*, who when they are to make a journey, shew themselves two or three daies before in colours, walking with boots and spurs, that their friends may take notice that they are departing out of the Towne or City. So said the Count of *Gondomar*, I think by this there are very few People in *London*; for when I came from thence I left them all almost in cloaths of colours, booted and spurred as ready to depart and take some journey

ourney. And truly my *Don* (quoth I) your owne Count hath answered for mee; yet I say, the *English* are so farre from going barefoot, that they goe boot&d; and are all in a readinesse to move out of *England* for any noble and generous designe; but above all they are still ready for *America*, where they know is store and abundance of Hydes to make them Bootes to cover the barenesse of their legges, that they may not be suspected to be like bare-footed *Indians*. Here *Don Melchor* replyed, I pray sir, when they come by Sea to these parts doe they come also boot&d and spurred? For I should thinke, when they fight, their spurs should hinder them. To this his doubt I answered first, as concerning spurres in the ships, with the example of one of his own Nation, and of the best Divines in *Spain*, living in my time in *Valladolid*, called *Macfro Nunno*, (Reader of Divinity in the Colledge of *St. Gregoris*, but in his carriage and experience in the World a simple noddie) who being invited by a Noble man to goe with him in his Coach out of the City a mile or two to, a garden of recreation, went hastily about the Colledge to borrow boots and spurs; and when he had put them on, being asked whither he went, and why he put on boots and spurs, answered that he was to goe in a Coach out of the City, and that hee thought the Coach and Mules would want spurs to goe and come the sooner. Even so my *Don* (quoth I) the *English* men come boot&d and spurred in their ships, to make their ships sail on the swifter. And this is the reason why the *English* ships saile faster, and when they are in fight turn about quicker then a *Spanisb* Galeon, because they are spurred & kicked within. O sir, I humbly thank you (said *Don Melchor*) for that by your discourse now I know the truth of what indeed I have often heard say, that the *English* ships are nimble, and quicker at Sea then our heavy Galeons. Now as for fighting the *English* mens spurs (said I) are no hinderance to them, but rather a great advantage. For they fight with weapons, with their hands and with their feet, wherein they exceed the *Spaniards*; for when they have shot with their peece, or cut down with their swords any enemy, or knocked him with their holbards, then with their feet and spurres, they fall upon him, and so soone rid him out of the way, that hee may no more rise up against them. All you have told mee (said the wise *Velazco*) stands with so much reason, that my judgment is convinced by you. As for eating and sacrificing one another like the *Indians* (I told him) that the *English* filled their bellies so well with fat Beef and Mutton, fowles, Rabbits, Partridges and Pheafants, that they had no stomacke at all to mans flesh. And that truly for frixoles dressed with garlick, that onely daintie dish was wanting in *England*; and that for Garlick, three reasons moved the *English* not to bee lavishing of that little they had; first, for feare they should want it for their horses drenches; secondly, for that they felt not themselves so much troubled with the wind, nor puffed up with windy and vaine conceits as other nations did; but thirdly and chiefly they refrained from it among themselves, that they might not smell of it, and that by the sent and smell of it a farre off at Sea they might when they came to the Coast of *America*, smell out a *Spanisb* ship, and know it from a *Hollander*. Here my *Don Melchor* fell into admiration, assuring mee, hee had never heard more solid reasons from any man. Alas poore *Criolian* of *Chiapa* (thought I) if I had spoken sense, thy shallow braine had not bene able to have leaped over it, but after non-sense thou art easily carried away. As for his last question, I told him that was above my reach, for that poore Fryers ought not to meddle with women, neither had my mother ever told mee how long shee went with mee. But how ever if *Donna Angella* would tell mee how long shee went with her children, I would by the constellations of the Heavens search out against our next meeting, how long the *English* women went with their children. To this my *Don Melchor* answered that he would not trouble me to study what he thought was not belonging to my profession; but he knew that if I would study that or any other hard & difficult point, I could give him more & better satisfaction then any scholar in that City.

And thus (Reader) by this *Don Melchor*'s wit and ability would I have thee judge of the Gentlemen *Criolians* or natives of *Chiapa*; and yet as presumptuous they are and arrogant, as if the noblest bloud in the Court of *Madrid* ran through their veines. It is a common thing amongst them to make a dinner only with a dish of Frixoles in black broath, boyled with pepper and garlick, saying it is the most nourishing meat in all the *Indias*; and after this so stately a dinner they will be sure to come out to the street-dore of their houses to see and to be seen, and there for halfe an houre will they stand shaking

shaking off the crums of bread from their cloaths, bands (but especially from their ruffs when they used them) and from their mustachoes. And with their tooth-pickers they will stand picking their teeth, as if some small Partridge bone stuck in them; nay if a friend passe by at that time, they will be sure to find out some crum or other in their mustacho (as if on purpose the crums of the table had been shaken upon their beards, that the losse of them might be a gaining of credit for great house keeping) and they will be sure to vent out some non-truth, as to say, *A Senor que linda perdiz, he comido oy*, O Sir, what a dainty Partridge have I eat to day, where as they pick out nothing from their teeth but a black husk of a dry frixole or Turkey bean. Though great in blood and in birth they say they are, yet in their employments they are but rich Grasers, for most of their wealth consisteth in farmes of Cattell and Mules. Some indeed have Townes of *Indians* subject unto them, whereof they are called *Encomendero's*, and receive yearly from every *Indian* a certaine Pole tribute of fowles and mony. They have most cowardly spirits for warre, and though they will say, they would faine see *Spain*, yet they dare not venture their lives at sea; they judge sleeping in a whole skin the best maxime for their *Criolian* spirits. One hundred fighting souldiers would easily lay low those *Chiapa Dons*, and gain the whole City, which lyeth so open to the fields, that the Mules and Asses come in and grase, the streets being very commodious to entertain Asses from within, and from without. Yet in this City lieth commonly a Governour, or Alcalde Major, and a Bishop. The Governours place is of no small esteem and interest, for that his power reacheth farre, and he tradeth much in Cacao and Cochinil, and domineers over both *Spaniards* and *Indians* at his will and pleasure. But ill gotten goods never thrive, as was seen in *Don Gabriel de Orellana* (Governour of this City and Countrey in my time) who having sent the worth of eight thousand crownes in Cochinil, Cacao, Sugar, and Hydes by the river of *Tabasco* towards the *Havans* lost it all into the hands of the *Hollanders*, who doubtlesse knew how to make better use of it, then would have done that tyrannizing Governour. The Bishops place of that City is worth at least eight thousand duckats a year, which truly he had need of that comes so far from *Spain* to live in such a City where are such able *Dons*, as *Don Melchor de Velasco*, and where Asses are so freely fed and bred. Most of this Bishops revenues consisteth in great offerings which he yearly receiveth from the great *Indian* Townes, going out to them once a year to confirme their children, whose confirmation is such a means to confirme and strengthen the Bishops revenues, that none must be confirmed by him who offer not a faire white Wax-candle, with a ribban and at least foure Rials. I have seen the richer sort offer him a Candle of at least six pound weight with two yards of twelve penny broad ribban, and the Candle stucke from the top to the bottom with single Rials round about. Nay the poore *Indians* make it the chiefe master piece of their vanity to offer proudly in such occasions. *Don Bernardino de Salazar* was the Bishop of this City in my time, who desired my company to ride with him his circuit but one moneth, about the Townes neer to *Chiapa*, and in this time I was appointed by him to hold the basin wherein the *Spaniards* and *Indians* (whillt he confirmed their children) did cast their offerings, which my selfe and another Chaplaine did alwaies tell and cast up by good account before we carried the mony up into his chamber, and I found that at our returne at the moneths end he had received one thousand and six hundred duckats of onely offerings, besides the fees due to him for visiting the severall companies, or sodalities and confraternities belonging to the Saints or soules in their purgatory (which are extraordinary rich there) whereof he and all other Bishops in their district take account yearly. This Bishop was (as all the rest are there) somewhat covetous; but otherwise a man of a temperate life and conversation, very zealous to reforme whatsoever abuses committed in the Church, which cost him his life before I departed from *Chiapa* to *Guatemala*. The woman of that City it seems pretend much weakenesse and squeamishnesse of stomack, which they say is so great, that they are not able to continue in the Church while a Masse is briefly huddled over, much lesse while a solemn high Masse (as they call it) is sung, and a Sernion preached, unless they drinke a cup of hot Chocolate, and eat a bit of sweet-meats to strengthen their stomacks. For this purpose it was much used by them to make their maids bring to them to Church in the middle of Masse or Sermon a cup of Chocolate, which could not be done to all, or most of them without a great confusion and interrupting both Masse and Sermon. The Bishop perceiving this abuse

and

and having given faire warning for the omitting of it, but all without amendment, thought fit to fixe in writing upon the Churches doers an excommunication against all such as should presume at the time of service to eat or drinke within the Church. This excommunication was taken by all, but especially by the Gentlemen much to heart, who protested if they might not eat or drinke in the Church, they could not continue in it to heare what otherwise they were bound unto. The chiefe of them knowing what great friendship there was between the Bishop and the Prior, and my selfe, came to the Prior and mee desiring us to use all meanes wee could with the Bishop for the revoking that his excommunication so heavily laid upon them, and threatening their soules with damning judgement for the violation of it. The good Prior and my selfe laboured all we could, alleading the custome of the Countrey, the weakenesse of the sex whom it most concerned, and also the weaknesse of their stomackes, the contempt that might from them ensue unto his person, and many inconveniences which might follow to the breeding of an uproar in the church and in the City, whereof we had some probable conjecture from what already we had heard from some. But none of these reasons would move the Bishop, to which he answered that he preferred the honour of God, and of his house before his owne life. The women seeing him so hard to be intreated, began to stomacke him the more and to sleight him with scornfull and reproachfull words; others sleighted his excommunication, drinking in iniquity in the Church, as the fish doth water, which caused one day such an uproare in the Cathedrall, that many swords were drawne against the Preists and Prebends, who attempted to take away from the maids the cups of Chocolate, which they brought unto their mistresses; who at last seeing that neither faire nor foule meanes would prevaile with the Bishop, resolved to forsake the Cathedrall, where the Bishops owne and his Prebends eies must needs be watching over them; and so from that time most of the City betooke themselves to the Cloister Churches, where by the Nuns and Friars they were not troubled nor resisted, though fairely counselled to obey the command of the Bishop, whose name now they could not brooke, and to whose Prebends they denied now all such reliefe and stipend for Masses which formerly they had used to bestow upon them, conferring them all upon the Fryers who grew rich by the poor impoverished Cathedrall. This lasted not long, but the Bishop began to stomacke the Fryers, and to set up another excommunication, binding all the City to resort unto their owne Cathedrall Church; which the women would not obey, but kept their houses for a whole month; in which time the Bishop fell dangerously sick, and desired to retire himselfe to the Cloister of the Dominicans, for the great confidence he had in the Prior that he would take care of him in his sicknesse. Physitians were sent for far and neere, who all with a joynt opinion agreed that the Bishop was poisoned; and he himselfe doubted not of it at his death, praying unto God to forgive those that had been the cause of it, and to accept of that sacrifice of his life, which he was willing to offer for the zeale of Gods house and honour. He lay not above a week in the Cloister, and as soone as he was dead, all his body, his head and face did so swell, that the least touch upon any part of him caused the skin to break and cast out white matter, which had corrupted and overflowne all his body. A Gentlewoman with whom I was well acquainted in that City, who was noted to be somewhat too familiar with one of the Bishops Pages, was commonly censured to have prescribed such a cup of Chocolate to be ministred by the Page which poisoned him who so rigorously had forbidden Chocolate to be drunk in the Church. My selfe heard this Gentlewoman say of the deceased Bishop, that she thought few grieved for his death, & that the women had no reason to grieve for him, and that she judged, he being such an enemy to Chocolate in the Church, that which he had drunk at home in his house had not agreed with his body. And it became afterwards a Proverbe in that Country, Beware of the Chocolate of *Chiapa*; which made me so cautious, that I would not drinke afterwards of it in any house, where I had not very great satisfaction of the whole Family. The women of this City are somewhat light in their carriage, and have learned from the Devill many enticing lessons and baits to draw poore soules to sinne and damnation; and if they cannot have their wills, they wil surely work revenge either by Chocolate or Conserve, or some faire present, which shall surely carry death along with it. The Gentlewoman that was suspected (nay was questioned for the death of the Bishop) had often used to send me boxes of Chocolate or conserves; which I willingly received from her, judging

ing it to be a kind of gratuity for the paines I tooke in teaching her son *Latin*. She was of a very merry and pleasant disposition, which I thought might consist without sin; untill one day she sent unto mee a very faire plantin wrapped up in a hankerchief, buried in sweet Jazmines and roses; when I untied the handkerchief, I thought among the flowers I should find some rich token, or some peeces of eight, but finding nothing but a plantin, I wondred; and looking further upon it, I found worked upon it with a knife the fashion of a heart with two of blind Cupids arrows sticking in it, discovering unto my heart the poisoned heart and thoughts of the poisoner that sent it. I thought it a good warning to be wary and cautious of receiving more presents or Chocolate from such hands, and so returned unto her againe her plantin with this short rhyme cut out with a knife upon the skinne *fruta tan fria, amor no cria*, as much as to say, fruit so cold, takes no hold. This answer and resolution of mine was soone spread over that little City, which made my Gentlewoman outrageous, which presently she shewed by taking away her sonne from schoole, and in many meetings threatening to play me a *Chiapaveca* trick. But I remembered the Bishops Chocolate and so was wary, and staid not long after in that poisoning and wicked City, which truly deserves no better relation then what I have given of the simple *Dons*, and the Chocolate-confectioning *Donnas*.

There is yet twelve leagues from this City of *Chiapa*, another *Chiapa* which deserveth better commendations. This consisteth most of *Indians*, and is held to be one of the biggest *Indian* Townes in all *America*, containing at least four thousand families. This Towne hath many priviledges from the King of *Spain*, and is governed chiefly by *Indians* (yet with subordination unto the *Spanish* government of the City of *Chiapa*) who doe chooseth an *Indian* Governour with other inferiour officers to rule with him. This Governour may wear a rapier and dagger, and enjoyeth many other liberties which to the rest of the *Indians* are denied. No Towne hath so many *Dons* in it of *Indian* blood as this. *Don Philip de Guzman* was Governour of it in my time, a very rich *Indian*, who kept up commonly in his stable a dozen of as good Horses for publike shewes, and ostentation as the best *Spaniard* in the Countrey. His courage was not inferiour to any *Spaniard*, and for defence of some priviledges of his Town sued in the Chancery of *Guatemala* the proud and high minded Governour of the City of *Chiapa*, spending therein great sums of money till he had overcome him, whereupon he caused a feast to be made in the Towne, both by water and land, so stately, that truly in the Court of *Madrid* it might have been acted.

This Towne lyeth upon a great river, whereunto belong many boats and Canoas, wherein those *Indians* have been taught to act sea-fights, with great dexterity, and to represent the Nymphes of *Parnassus*, *Neptune*, *Æolus*, and the rest of the heathenish Gods and Goddeses, so that they are a wonder of their whole nation. They will arme with their boats a siege against the Town, fighting against it with such courage till they make it yeeld, as if they had been trained up all their life to sea-fights. So likewise within the Town they are as dexterous at baiting of bulls, at *juego de Canas*, at Horseraces, at arming a Campe, at all manner of *Spanish* dances, instruments, and musick as the best *Spaniards*. They will erect Towers and Castles made of wood and painted cloth, & from them fight either with the boats or one against another, with quibs, darts, and many strange fire-works, so manfully, that if in earnest they could perform it as well as they do it in sport and pastime, the *Spaniards* and Fryers might soon repent to have taught them what they have. As for acting of playes, this is a common part of their solemn pastimes; and they are so generous, that they nothing think too much to spend in banquets & sweet-meats upon their Friers, and neighbouring Towns, whensoever they are minded to shew themselves in a publike feast. The Towne is very rich, & many *Indians* in it that trade about the Countrey as the *Spaniards* do. They have learned most trades besitting a Common-wealth, and practise and teach them within their Town. They want not any provision of fish or fesh, having for the one that great river joyning unto their Towne, and for the other many *Estancia's* (as they call them) or farmes abounding with cattell. In this Towne the Dominican Fryers bear all the sway, who have a rich and stately Cloister with another Church or Chappel subordinate unto it. The heat here is so great, that both Fryers and *Indians* commonly wear a linnen towel about their necks to wipe off the constant sweate from their faces, which maketh the Friers sit longer at their dinner then els they would do, for that at every bit they eat,

cate, and draught they drinke, they are faine to make a stop to wipe their dropping browes. Yet the evenings are fresh and cool, which are much made of there, and spent in the many walks and gardens which joyn close unto the River side. Two or three leagues from the Towne, there are two *Ingenios* or Farmes of Sugar, the one belonging to the Cloister of the Dominicans of the City of *Chiapa*; the other unto the Cloister of this Towne, which containe neer two hundred Blackmores, besides many *Indians*, who are employed in that constant worke of making Sugar for all the Country. Hereabouts are bread great store of Mules, and excellent horses for any service. The Towne of *Chiapa* of the *Indians*, and all the Townes about it want nothing but a more temperate climate and cooler aire, and Wheat, which there cannot bee sowne, yet for *Spaniards* and such as cannot live without it, it is brought from *Chiapa* of the *Spaniards* and from about *Comitan*; yet this is not generally acknowledged a want by reason of the great plenty of *Maiz* which all the Townes enjoy, and which is now more used both by *Spaniards* and dainty toothed Fryers then bread of Wheat. Yet your poore *Spaniards*, and some *Indians* who have got the trick of trading from them doe gaine not a little in bringing to these Townes bisquets of wheaten bread, which though it be dry and hard, yet because they are novelties to the *Indians*, they get by changing them for other commodities, especially of Cotton wooll, which here is more abounding then in the Valley of *Copanabasilau*.

Upon this Country of *Chiapa* of the *Indians* bordereth the Province of *Zoque*, which is absolutely the richest part of *Chiapa*. This reacheth on the one side to *Tabasco*, and by the River named *Grijalva* sendeth commonly the Commodities which are in it with safety unto St. *John de Ulbua*, or *Vera Cruz*. It traffiqueth also with the Country of *Jucatan* by the Haven called *Puerto Real*, which lyeth betwene *Grijalva* and *Jucatan*. Yet these two, the River of *Tabasco*, alias *Grijalva*, and *Puerto Real*, though they bee commodious to this Province of *Zoque*, yet they are causes of daily feares unto the *Spaniards*, who well know the weaknesse of them, and that if a forraigne Nation should manfully thrust into that Country by any of these two wayes, they might so conquer all *Chiapa*, and from thence passe easily unto *Guatemala*. But the River of *Tabasco* lying low, and being somewhat hot, and the Towns about it infested with many gnats, and the chiefest commodity there being but *Cacao*, have often discouraged both our *English* and *Hollanders*, who have come up some part of the River, and minding more the foresaid reasons, then what was forward to bee had, have turned back, losing a rich Country and slighting an eternall name, for few and frivolous present difficulties. In this Province of *Zoque*, the Towns are not very bigge, yet they bee very rich; the chief Commodities are Silk and *Cochinill*; whereof the latter is held the best of *America*, and the store of it so great that no one Province alone exceeds it. Few *Indians* there are who have not their Orchards planted with the trees whereon the worms breed which yeeld unto us that rich Commodity; not that the *Indians* themselves esteeme otherwise of it, then as they see the *Spaniards* greedy after it, offering them money for it, & forcing them to the preservation of it in those parts, which have proved most successful for this kind. There is great store of silk in this Country, in so much that the *Indians* make it their great Commodity to imploy their wives in working Towels with all colours of silk, which the *Spaniards* buy, and send into *Spain*. It is rare to see what works those *Indian* women will make in silk, such as might serve for Patterns and samplers to many School-Mistresses in *England*. The people of this Country are witty, and ingenious, and faire of complexion; the Country towards *Tabasco* is hot, but within in some places very cold. There is also plenty of *Maiz*, but no wheat; neither is there such plenty of Cattell as about *Chiapa*, but Fowles and Turkies as many as in other parts. The Province called *Zeldales* lyeth behind this of the *Zoque*, from the North Sea within the continent, running up towards *Chiapa*, and reacheth in some parts neer to the borders of *Comitan* north-westward. South-eastward it joyns to such *Indians* which as yet have not been conquered by the *Spaniards*, who make many invasions upon the Christian *Indians*, and burn their Towns, and carry away their Cattell. The chief and head Town in this Province is called *Ocozingo*, which is a Frontier against those Heathens. This Province is esteemed rich for the *Spaniards*, who make much of *Cacao*, which serveth to make their drink of *Chocolatte*, and here is great store of it. There is also another Commodity, great among the *Spaniards*, called *Achiotte*, wherewith they make their *Chocolatte* looke of the colour of a brick. Here is also plenty of Hogs and Bacon, Fowles, Turkies,

Turkies, Quailers, Cattell, Sheep, Maiz, Hony, and not farre from *Oocingo*; in my time was setting up an *Iugenio*, or Farm of Sugar, which was thought would prove as well as those about *Cbiapa* of the *Indians*. The Country in most parts is high and hilly; but *Oocingo* stands in a pleasant Valley, injoying many Brookes and streams of fresh water, and therefore hath been thought a fit place for Sugar. Here also in this Valley the Fryers have attempted to sow Wheat, which hath proved very good. Thus Reader, I have shewed you the Country of *Cbiapa*, which as it is compassed about on the one side by *Socunusco*, and from thence almost to *Guatemala*, by the Province of *Suchutepeques*, on the other side by *Tabasco*, and on the other side by *Zeldales* with excessive plenty of *Cacao* and *Achiote*, which are the chief drugs for the making of *Chocolatte*; I wil yet before I depart from *Cbiapa* to *Guatemala*, say somewhat of that drinke so much used by the *Spaniards*, and in my judgment not to be sleighted, but rather to bee published and made known to all Nations, whose use might remedy the great abuse of wines and strong drinks which too much are esteemed amongst us here in *Europe*.

CHAP. XVI.

Concerning two daily and common Drinkes, or Potions much used in the India's, called Chocolatte, and Atole.

Chocolatte being this day used not onely over all the *West-India's*, but also in *Spain*, *Italy*, and *Flanders*, with approbation of many learned Doctors in Physick, among whom *Antonio Colmenero de Ledesma*; (who lived once in the *India's*) hath composed a learned and curious Treatise concerning the nature and quality of this drinke; I thought fit to insert here also somewhat of it concerning my own experience for the space of twelve years. This name *Chocolatte* is an *Indian* name, and is compounded from *Atte*, as some say or as others, *Atle*, which in the *Mexican* language signifieth water, & from the sound which the water (wherein is put the *Chocolatte*) makes, as *Choco*, *Choco*, when it is stirred in a cup by an instrument called a *Molinet*, or *Molinillo*, untill it bubble and rise unto a froath. And as there it is a name compounded, so in *English* wee may well call it a compounded or a confectioned drinke wherein are found many and severall Ingredients, according to the different disposition of the body of them that use it. But the chief Ingredient (without which it cannot be made) is called *Cacao*, a kind of nut or kernell bigger then a great Almond, which growes upon a tree called the tree of *Cacao*, and ripens in a great huske, wherein sometimes are found more, sometimes lesse *Cacao's*, sometimes twenty, sometimes thirty, nay forty, and above. This *Cacao*, though as every simple, it contains the quality of the foure Elements, yet in the common opinion of most Physitians, it is held to bee cold and dry, *a predominio*; It is also in the substance that rules these two qualities, restraining and obstructive, of the nature of the Element of the earth. And as it is thus a mixed, and not a simple Element, it hath parts correspondent to the rest of the Elements; and particularly it partakes of those which correspond with the Element of Aire, that is, heat and moisture, which are governed by unctuous parts; there being drawn out of the *Cacao* much Butter, which in the *India's*, I have seen drawn out of it by the *Criolian* women for to oint their faces. And let not this seeme impossible to believe, that this graine or nut of *Cacao* should bee said to bee first cold and dry, and then hot and moist; for though experience bee a thousand witnesses, yet instances will further clear this truth; and first in the *Rubarbe*, which hath in it hot and soluble parts, and parts which are binding, cold and dry, which have a virtue to strengthen, bind and stop the loosenesse of the belly. Secondly, wee see this clearly in the steel, which having so much of the nature of the earth, as being heavy, thick, cold, and dry, should be thought improper for the curing of Oppilations, but rather to bee apt to increase them; and yet it is given for a proper remedy against them. The authority of *Galen* may further cleare this in the third booke of the Qualities of simples, where hee teacheth that almost all those medicines, which to our sense seeme

to be simple, are notwithstanding naturally compounded, containing in themselves contrary qualities, that is to say, a quality to expell, and to retaine, to incrassate and to extenuate, to rarifie and to condense. And in the fifteenth Chapter following in the same booke, he puts an example of the broth of a Cock, which moves the belly, and the Besh hath the virtue to binde. Yet further that this differing virtue and quality is found in divers substances, or parts of simple medicaments, he shewes in the first book of his simple medicines in the seventeenth Chapter, bringing the example of milke, in which three substances are found and separated, that is to say, the substance of cheefe, which hath the virtue to stop the fluxe of the belly; and the substance of whey, which is purging, and butter, as it is expressed Chap. 15. Also we find in wine which is in the Milt, three substances, that is to say, earth, which is the chiefe; and a thinner substance, which is the flower, and may be called the scum, or froath; and a third substance which we properly call wine; and every one of these substances contains in it selfe divers qualities and virtues, in the colour, in the smell, and in other accidents.

And this is very conformable to reason, if we consider that every aliment, be it never so simple, begets and produceth in the liver four humours, not only differing in temper, but also in substance; and begets more or lesse of that humour, according as the aliment hath more or fewer parts corresponding to the substance of that humour, which is most ingendred. From which examples we may gather that when the Cacao is grinded and stirred, the divers parts, which nature hath given it, doe artificially and intimately mixe themselves one with another; and so the unctuous, warme, and moist parts, mingled with the earthy represseth, and leaveth them not so binding, as they were before; but rather with a mediocrity, more inclining to the warme, and moist temper of the aire, then to the cold and dry of the earth; as it doth appear, when it is made fit to drink, that scarce two turnes are given with the Molinet, when there is seth a fatty scum, by which is seen, how much it partaketh of the oyley part. So that from all that hath been said, the error of those is well discovered, who speaking of this drink of Chocollatte, say, that it causeth oppilations, because Cacao is astrigent, as if that astriction were not corrected and modified by the intimate mixing of one part with another, by means of the grinding, as is said before. Besides it having so many ingredients, which are naturally hot, it must of necessity have this effect, that is to say, to open, attenuate, and not to binde. And leaving aside more reasons, this truth is evidently seen in the Cacao itselfe; which if it be not stirred, grinded and compounded to make the Chocollatte; but be eaten as it is in the fruit (as many Criolian and Indian women eat it) it doth notably obstruct and cause stoppings, and make them looke of a broken, pale and earthy colour, as doe those that eat ear then ware, as pots, or pieces of lime-walls) which is much used among the Spanish women thinking that pale and earthy colour, though with obstructions and stoppings, well becomes them) and for this certainly in the Cacao thus eaten there is no other reason, but that the divers substances which it contains, are not perfectly mingled by the mastication only, but require the artificall mixture, which wee have spoken of before.

The tree which doth beare this fruit, is so delicate, and the earth where it groweth so extreame hot, that to keep the tree from being consumed by the sunne, they first plant other trees, which they call, *las Madres del Cacao*, mothers of the Cacao; and when these are grown up to a good height fit to shade the Cacao trees, then they plant the Cacaotals, or the trees of Cacao; that when they first shew themselves above the ground, those trees, which are already grown may shelter them, and as mothers nourish, defend, and shadow them from the sunne; and the fruit doth not grow naked, but many of them (as I have said before) are in one great huske or cod, and therein besides every grain is closed up in a white juicy skin, which the women also love to suck off from the Cacao, finding it coole, and in the mouth dissolving into water. There are two sorts of Cacao; the one is common, which is of a darke colour inclining towards red, being round and peaked at the ends; the other is broader, and bigger, and flatter, and not so round, which they call, *Patlaxte*, and this is white, and more drying, and is sold a great deal cheaper then the former. And this especially, more then the other, causeth watchfullnesse, and drives away sleep, and therefore is not so usefull as the ordinary, and is chiefly spent by the ordinary and meane sort of people. As for the rest of the ingredients which make this Chocollatticall confectiō, there is notable variety; for some put into it black Pepper, which is not well approved of by the Physicians,

sicians, because it is so hot and dry, but only for one who hath a very cold liver; but commonly instead of this Pepper, they put into it long red Pepper, called Chile, which though it be hot in the mouth, yet is cool and moist in the operation. It is further compounded with white Sugar, Cinnamon, Clove, Anniseed, Almonds, Hefelnuts, *Orejuela*, *Bainilla*, *Sapyoll*, Orenge flower water, some Muske, and as much of *Achiotte*, as will make it looke of the colour of a red bricke. But how much of each of these may be applied to such a quantity of Cacao, the severall dispositions of mens bodies must be their rule. The ordinary receipt of *Antonio Colmenero* was this; To every hundred Cacao's, two cods of Chile, called long red Pepper, one handfull of Anniseed and *Orejuela's*, and two of the flowers called *Mechafuchil*, or *Bainilla*, or instead of this six roses of *Alexandria*, beat to powder, two drams of Cinnamon, of Almonds and Hefel-nuts, of each one dozen; of white Sugar halfe a pound, of *Achiotte*, enough to give it the colour. This Author thought neither Clove, nor Musk, nor any sweet water fit, but in the *India's* they are much used. Others use to put in Maiz, or *Paniso*, which is very windy, but such doe it onely for their profit, by increasing the quantity of the Chocolate; because every fanega or measure of Maiz containing about a bushel and a half, is sold for eight shillings, and they that sell Chocolate, sell it for four shillings a pound, which is the ordinary price. The Cinnamon is held one of the best ingredients, and denied by none, for that it is hot and dry in the third degree, it provokes urine, and helps the kidneys and reins of those who are troubled with cold diseases, and it is good for the eyes, and in effect it is cordiall, as appeareth by the Author of these verses,

Commoda & virine Cinamonum & r. nibus affert,

Lumina clarificat, dira venena fugat.

The *Achiotte* hath a piercing, attenuating quality, as appeareth by the common practice of the Physicians in the *India's*, experienced daily in the effects of it, who do give it to their Patients to cut and attenuate the grosse humors, which doe cause shortnesse of breath, and stopping of urine: and so it is used for any kind of oppilations, and is given for the stoppings which are in the breast, or in the region of the belly, or any other part of the body. This *Achiotte* also groweth upon a tree in round huskes, which are full of red graines, from whence the *Achiotte* is taken, and first made into a paste, and then being dried up is fashioned either into round balls or cakes, or into the forme of little bricke, and so is sold. As concerning the long red Pepper, there are foure sorts of it; one is called *Chilobones*; the other is very little, which they call *Chiltepin*, and these two kinds are very quick and biting. The other two are called, *Tonalchiles*, and these are but moderately hot, for they are eaten with bread by the *Indians*, as they eat other fruits. But that which is usually put into Chocolate, is called *Chilpacalagua*, which hath a broad huske, and is not so biting as the first, nor so gentle as the last. The *Mechafuchil*, or *Bainilla* hath a purgative quality. All these ingredients are usually put into the Chocolate, and by some more, according to their fancies. But the meaner sort of people, as *Blackmores* and *Indians*, commonly put nothing into it, but Cacao, *Achiotte*, Maiz, and a few *Chiles* with a little Anniseed. And though the Cacao is mingled with all these ingredients, which are hot; yet there is to be a greater quantity of Cacao, then of all the rest of the ingredients, which serve to temper the coldnesse of the Cacao; from whence it followeth that this Chocollatticall confection is not so cold as the Cacao, nor so hot as the rest of the ingredients, but there results from the action and reaction of these ingredients, a moderate temper, which may be good, both for the cold and hot stomacks, being taken moderately.

Now for the making or compounding of this drinke, I shall set downe here the method. The Cacao, and the other ingredients must be beaten in a mortar of stone, or (as the *Indians* use) ground upon a broad stone, which they call *Metate*, and is only made for that use. But first the ingredients are all to be dried, except the *Achiotte*, with care that they may be beaten to powder, keeping them still in stirring, that they be not burnt, or become black; for if they be overdried, they will be bitter, and lose their virtue. The Cinnamon and the long red pepper are to be first beaten, with the Anniseed, and then the Cacao, which must be beaten by little and little, till it be all powdered; and in the beating it must be turned round, that it may mixe the better. Every one of these ingredients must be beaten by it selfe, and then all be put into the vessell, where the Cacao is, which you must stirre together with a spoon, and then take out that paste,

paitte, and put it into the mortar, under which there must be a little fire, after the confection is made; but if more fire be put under then will only warme it, then the unctuous part will dry away. The *Achiote* also must be put in in the beating, that it may the better take the colour. All the ingredients must be searfed, save only the Cacao, and if from the Cacao the dry shell be taken, it will be the better. When it is well beaten, and incorporated (which will be known by the shortness of it) then with a spoon (so in the *India's* is used) is taken up some of the paitte, which will be almost liquid, and made into tablets, or else without a spoon put into boxes, and when it is cold it will be hard. Those that make it into tablets, put a spoonfull of the paitte upon a peece of paper (the *Indians* put it upon the leaf of a plantain tree) where, being put into the shade (for in the sunne it melts and dissolves) it grows hard; and then bowing the paper or leaf, the tablet falls off, by reason of the fatness of the paitte. But if it be put into any thing of earth, or wood, it sticks fast, and will not come off, but with scraping or breaking. The manner of drinking it, is divers; the one (being the way most used in *Mexico*) is to take it hot with *Atole*, dissolving a tablet in hot water, and then stirring and beating it in the cup, where it is to be drunke, with a *Molinet*, and when it is well stirred to a scumme or froath, then to fill the cup with hot *Atole* and so drinke it sup by sup. Another way is, that the *Chocolatte*, being dissolved with cold water and stirred with the *Molinet*, and the scumme taken off and put into another vessel; the remainder be set upon the fire, with as much sugar as will sweeten it, and when it is warme, then to powre it upon the scum which was taken off before, and so to drinke it. But the most ordinary way, is, to warme the water very hot, and then to powre out halfe the cup full that you mean to drinke; and to put into it a tablet or two, or as much as will thicken reasonably the water, and then grind it well with the *Molinet*, and when it is well ground and risen to a scum, to fill the cup with hot water, and so drinke it by sups (having sweetned it with Sugar) and to eat it with a little conserve, or maple bread, steeped into the *Chocolatte*. Besides these waies there is another way (which is much used in the Island of *Santo Domingo*) which is, to put the *Chocolatte* into a pipkin, with a little water, and to let it boyle well till it be dissolved, and then to put in sufficient water and sugar according to the quantity of the *Chocolatte*, and then to boyle it againe, untill there comes an oily scumme upon it, and then to drinke it. There is another way yet to drinke *Chocolatte*, which is cold, which the *Indians* use at feasts, to refresh themselves, and it is made after this manner. The *Chocolatte* (which is made with none or very few ingredients) being dissolved in cold water with the *Molinet*, they take off the scumme or crassy part, which riseth in great quantity, especially when the Cacao is older and more putrefied. The scumme they lay aside in a little dish by it selfe, and then put sugar into that part from whence was taken the scum, and then powre it from on high into the scumme, and so drinke it cold. And this drinke is so cold, that it agreeth not with all mens stomacks; for by experience it hath been found, that it doth hurt, by causing pains in the stomach, especially to women. The third way of taking it is the most used, and thus certainly it doth no hurt, neither know I why it may not be used as well in *England* as in other parts both hot and cold; for where it is so much used, the most, if not all, as well in the *India's*, as in *Spain*, *Italy*, *Flanders* (which is a cold Country) find that it agreeth well with them. True it is, it is used more in the *India's*, then in the *European* parts, because there the stomackes are more apt to faint then here, and a cup of *Chocolatte* well confectioned comforts and strengthens the stomach. For my self I must say, I used it twelve yeers constantly, drinking one cup in the morning, another yet before dinner between nine or ten of the clock; another within an houre or two after dinner, and another between four and five in the afternoon; and when I was purposed to sit up late to study, I would take another cup about seven or eight at night, which would keep me waking till about midnight. And if by chance I did neglect any of these accustomed houres, I presently found my stomacke fainty. And with this custome I lived twelve yeers in those parts healthy, without any obstructions, or oppilations, not knowing what either ague, or feaver was. Yet I will not dare to regulate by mine owne the bodies of others, nor take upon me the skil of a Physitian, to appoint and define at what time and by what persons this drinke may be used. Onely I say, I have known some that have been the worse for it, either for drinking it with too much sugar, which hath relaxed their stomackes, or for drinking it too often. For certainly if it

be drunke beyond measure, not only this Chocolate but all other drinckes, or meates, though of themselves they are good and wholesome, they may be hurtfull. And if some have found it oppilative, it hath come by the too too much use of it; as when one drinks over much wine, instead of comforting and warming himselfe, he breeds and nourisheth cold diseases, because nature cannot overcome it, nor turne so great a quantity into good nourishment. So he that drinks much Chocolate, which hath fat parts, cannot make distribution of so great a quantity to all the parts; and that part which remains in the slender veins of the liver must needs cause oppilations and obstructions. But lastly, to conclude with this *Indian* drinke, I will adde what I have heard Physicians of the *India's* say of it, and have seen it by experience in others (though never I could find it in my selfe) that those that use this Chocolate much, grow fat and corpulent by it: which indeed may seem hard to beleeve; for considering that all the ingredients, except the Cacao, doe rather extenuate, then make fat, because they are hot and dry in the third degree. And we have already said, that the qualities which doe predominate in Cacao, are cold and dry, which are very unfit to adde any substance to the body. Nevertheless it may be answered that the many unctuous parts, which have been proved to be in the Cacao, are those which pinguifie and make fat; and the hotter ingredients of this composition serve for a guide, or vehicall, to passe to the liver, and the other parts, untill they come to the fleshy parts; and there finding a like substance which is hot and moist, as is the unctuous part, converting it selfe into the same substance, it doth augment and pinguifie. But how then might this Cacao with the other *Indian* ingredients be had in *England*? even by trading in *Spaine* for it, as we doe for other commodities; or not sleighting it so much as we and the *Hollanders* have often done upon the *Indians* seas; of whom I have heard the *Spaniards* say that when we have taken a good prize, a ship laden with Cacao, in anger and wrath we have hurled over board this good commoditie, not regarding the worth and goodnesse of it, but calling it in bad *Spanish*, *Cagaruta de Carnero*, or sheeps dung in good *English*. It is one of the necessariest commodities in the *India's*, and nothing enricheth *Chtiapa* in particular more then it, whither are brought from *Mexico* and other parts, the rich bags of Patacons onely for this *Cagaruta de Carnero*, which we call sheeps dung. The other drinke which is much used in the *India's* is called Atolle, of which I will say but a little, because I know it cannot be used here. This was the drinke of the ancient *Indians*, and is a thick pap made of the flower of Maiz, taking off the huskes from it, which is windy and melancholy. This is commonly carried by the *Indian* women to the Markets hot in pots, and there is sold in cups. The *Crioliani* students, as wee goe to a Taverne to drink a cup of wine, so they go in company to the publike Markets, and as publicly buy and drinke by measure of this Atolle; which sometimes is seasoned with a little Chile, or long Pepper, and then it pleaseth them best. But the Nuns and Gentlewomen have got a trick of confounding it with Cinnamon, Sweet-waters, Aniber, or Muske, and store of Sugar, and thus it is held to be a most strong and nourishing drinke, which the Physicians doe prescribe unto a weake body, as we doe here our Almond-milke. But of what *England* never knew nor tasted, I will say no more, but hasten my penne to *Guatemala*, which hath been my second patria.

CHAP. XV.

Shewing my journey from the City of Chiapa, unto Guatemala, and the chief places in the way.

THE time now being come that I was to leave the little City of *Chiapa*, I took some occasion before-hand to take my leave of my best friends, whose children I had taught, and at my departure I must confesse I found them kind and bountifull, except it were *Donna Magdalena de Morales*, from whom I did not expect, neither did I desire any farewell, or Adieu token. But among all, the Governours wife was most liberall unto mee, sending mee many boxes of Aromaticall Chocolate, and one extraordinary great box with foure severall divisions of different conserves gilt over, besides many Maple breads, and Biskets made with Eggs and Sugar, a present it was which might have been sent to a greater man then to a poor worthless Mendicant Fryer, and with this in a handkerchief a dozen peeces of eight, *Don Melchor del Velasco* yet exceeded her, in words and complements I meane, but in deeds, hee and all the crew of the Criolians must thinke to come short of them, who are borne in *Spain*. The first Town I went unto, was *Tlhopixca*, six leagues from *Chiapa*, a faire and great Towne of *Indians*, who are held to bee next unto the *Indians* of the other *Chiapa* in sitting and riding a horse. In this town is nothing so considerable as the Church, which is great and strong, and the musick belonging unto it sweet and harmonious. The Vicar or Curate of this place was one Fryer *Peter Martir* a Criolian, whom I knew could not indure the Prior nor mee, yet he would dissemble a love complementall exceeding well, and in outward shews raise it up to *gradus ut Olio*. He knowing my prevalency with the Prior, durst not but give mee very good entertainment, which continued two dayes, untill I was weary of his complements.

The third day I tooke my leave of him, who would not yet leave mee, but would conduct mee to *Comitlan*, whither I was invited by the Prior of that Cloister, named Fryer *Thomas Rocolano*, a French man, who being a stranger to the *Spaniards* (for besides him and my selfe there was no other stranger in that County) desired acquaintance with mee, which hee began to settle by meeting mee at the half way with many *Indians* on horse back, having provided an harbour where wee might more conveniently conferre and rest while our Chocolate and other refreshments were provided. But the Criolian *Peter Martir* was not a little envious, (as I was afterwards informed in the Cloister) to see mee so much made of and esteemed in the Country, yet his faire words and complements farre exceeded the sincerity and down-rightnesse of my French friend. At *Comitlan* I staid a whole weeke, riding about with the Prior unto the *Indian* townes, and downe the hill to the valley of *Copanabastla*, where I enjoyed much pastime and recreation among the Fryers and *Indians* and was feasted after the manner of that Country, which knoweth more of an Epicurian diet then doth *England*, or any part of *Europe*; nay I am perswaded (and I have heard *Spaniards* confesse it) that *Spain* hath taken from the *Indians* since the conquest many lessons for the dressing of severall dishes and compleating a feast or banquet. After the weeke was ended my French friend the Prior conducted mee to *Ixquintango*, to see mee well furnished up the Mountaines of *Cuchumatlanes*. This Towne (as I have formerly observed) standeth almost at the end of the Valley of *Copanabastla*, and within two leagues of the *Cuchumatlanes*. It is one of the finest *Indian* Townes of all the Province of *Chiapa*, and very rich, by reason of the much Cotton wooll in it, and especially by reason of its situation, for standing in the Roade way to *Guatemala*, all the Merchants of the Country that trade with their mules that way, passe through this Towne, and there buy and sell, enriching it with money and farre brought Commodities. It is most plentifully stored with fruits, especially with what they call *Pina's* or Pine fruit. It standeth close by the great River, which runneth to *Chiapa* of the *Indians*, and hath its spring not farre off from the *Cuchumatlanes*, and yet at this Town is very broad and deep. No man nor beast travilling to *Guatemala* can goe into it, or from *Guatemala* can goe out of it, but by ferrying over. And the Rode being much used and beaten by travellers,

and by such as they call Requas of mules (every Requa consisting of fifty or threescore mules) this Ferry is day and night imployed) and yeelds much treasure to the town at the yeers end. The *Indians* of the Town besides the ferry boat, have made many other little boats, or Canoa's to goe up and down the River. Hither when the Prior of *Comitlan* had brought me, we were waited for by the Vicar or Fryer of that Town with the chief and principall *Indians*, and most of the Canoa's. As we ferried over, the little Canoa's went before us with the *Quiristers* of the Church singing before us, and with others sounding their Waits and Trumpets. The Fryer that lived in this Town, was called Fryer *Geronymo de Guevara*, little in stature, but great in state, pride and vanity, as hee shewed himself in what hee had provided for us both of filth and flesh. A brave protestour or vower of Mendicancy and poverty he was, who in twelve yeers that hee had lived in that Towne, what by mumming of Masses for the dead and living, what by shearing and fleecing the poore *Indians*, what by trading and trafficking with the Merchants that used that Rode, had got six thousand Duckats, which hee had sent to *Spain* to the Court of *Madrid*, to trade with them Simoniacally for the Bishoprick of *Chiapa*, which if he obtained not, (yet when I came out of that Country the report went that hee had obtained it) hee would and was well able with a second supply to obtaine a better. After two daies feasting with him, hee and the Prior of *Comitlan* both joynd their power and authority to see mee well manned with *Indians*, to the first Towne of the *Cuchumatlanes*. A mule was prepared to carry my bedding, (which wee commonly carried with us in cheits of leather called Petaca's) another *Indian* to carry my Petaquilla wherein was my Chocolate and all implements to make it; and three more *Indians* to ride before and behinde to guide me; but to all these nothing was to be paid, (lest a custome of paying should bee brought in, for so they doctined mee as a novice in that Country) except it were to give them a cup of Chocolate if I drank in the way, or when I came to my journeys end. Here I tooke my leave of my good *French* friend, (who yet continued friendship with mee by frequent letters to *Guatemala*) and of my low but high minded *Guevara*, who bad mee expect no friendly entertainment, untill I were well passed over the *Cuchumatlanes* and arrived at *Sacapula*, which was foure daies journey from thence. Yet hee told mee I might demand what service I list from the *Indians*, and call for what I had a mind to eat without paying any money, so that I did write down my expences in the common Town Book.

Thus I went away from my friends somewhat heavy having no other company but unknowne *Indians*, leaving a pleasant and delightfome valley behind mee, and seeing nothing before mee but high and steepy hills and mountaines, and considering that in foure or five dayes I should see no more gallant Dominicans and of mine own profession. Now I wished I had the company of my *Melendez* and other friends, who were a comfort one to another upon the hills and rocks of *Maquilapa*. Yet at last I concluded, up *English* heart and courage, *quondam hec meminisse juvabit*. Though the mountaines seemed high afar off, yet as I travelled on, I found the way lie between them very easie and passable, and met now and then Requas of mules, which were no little comfort unto mee to consider, if they being heavily laden could goe through those Mountaines, my mule that had in mee but a light burden would easily overcome any danger; it comforted mee also to consider that there were Townes (though but little ones) where I might rest every night. The further I went, the better and more open I found the Rode; Onely the raine and dirt troubled me, which I could not avoid, it being the end of *September*, or as there they reckon, the end of winter. The first Town I came to, amongst those Mountaines was called *St. Martin*, a little place of sometwenty houles; I went to the house that belonged to the Franciscan Fryers (who seldome in the yeer came to that poverty of house and house room) where I lighted and caused the *Indians* to bee called who were appointed to give attendance to travellers and passengers. I found them very tractable and dutifull, bidding mee welcome, bringing mee hot water for my Chocolate, which I drunke off heartily, and gave unto my *Indians* of *Izquintenango*, who refreshed themselves and their mules well for nothing, this being a custome amongst those Townes in the Rode to welcome one another whensoever they come with travellers. I might have had for my supper any thing that place would afford, but I made choice of a pullet, which I thought would bee cheape for the poore *Indians*. I was glad I had brought with mee a good
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big Frasco, as they call it, or bottle of wine, for I began already to find the *Cuchumatlanes* cooler then the valley of *Copanabasil*. My bed was made in a little thatched Cobe, and *Indian* boyes appointed to sleep in the next room to me, and to be at hand if in the night I should want any thing. Thus having appointed what attendance I had need of in the morning to the next Town, discharging the *Indians* that had brought me from *Izquitzenango*, I went unto my rest, which I tooke as quietly as if I had been in the company of my best friends. The next day being accompanied by two *Indians*, having lent my carriage by another, I took my journey to the next Towne, which is called *Cuchumatlan grande*, because it standeth on the highest part of those Mountaines, and in the way the *Indians* shewed mee the head spring or fountaine of the great River of *Chiapa* of the *Indians*, which is the onely remarkable thing in that Rode. *Cuchumatlan grande* is a Towne a little bigger then *St. Martin*, and of *Indians* very courteous, who are used and beaten to daily travellers, and so make very much of them. Here I was entertained as the night before; and found the poore *Indians* willing to give mee whatsoever I demanded for my better and safer guiding and conducting the next day, and that night for my supper what I pleased to call for, without any pay, but onely writing down my name and expences with the day and moneth in their common booke of accounts. This are those poore wretches brought to by the Fryers and commanding Justices, though of themselves they have no more then a Milpa of Maiz as they terme it, or a little *Indian* Wheat Plantation, with as much Chile as will suffice them for the year, and what the Merchants and Travellers give them voluntarily, which is little enough. From this Town I would not follow the Rode to the next, which was a long journey of seven or eight leagues without baiting by the way; and also because I had beene informed at *Chiapa* and at *Copanabasil* of a strange picture of our Lady, which was amongst these Mountaines in a little Towne of *Indians* called *Chiantla*, which in this dayes journey being not above a league out of my way, I was resolved to see. The wayes were bad, lying out of the Rode, yet by noon I got to *Chiantla*, which is a Town belonging unto Mercenarian Fryers, who doubtlesse would not be able to subsist in so poore a place, had they not invented that loadstone of their picture of *Mary*, and cried it up for miraculous, to draw people farre and neere, and all travellers from the Rode to pray unto it, and to leave their gifts and almes unto them for their prayers and Masses. Such an income of treasure and riches hath beene from deluded and ignorant soules to this beggerly Towne, that the Fryers have had wherewith to build a Cloister able to maintaine foure or five of them. The Church is richly furnished, but especially the high Altar where the picture standeth in a Tabernacle with half a dozen curtaines of Silk, Sattin, cloth of gold, with borders of golden lace before it, wearing a rich Crowne of gold, thickly beset with Diamonds and other precious stones. There hang before it at least a dozen rich lampes of silver; and in the vestry of the Church are many gownes, Candlestickes of silver, Censers to burne Frankincense before it, besides rich Copes, Vestments, Ornaments for the Altar, and hangings for all the Church.

To conclude, here is a treasure hid in the Mountaines; Oh that it could bee found out to doe the Lord service. I was welcomed to this place by those Fryers, who were strangers unto mee; my head was filled that day by them with relations of strange and many miracles or lies, which they told mee of that picture; but the heaviness of my head did mee good in something, for it made mee more drowsie at night and apter to take good rest. The next day I got into the Rode againe, and went to the last Town of these *Cuchumatlanes* called *Chantlan*, where I stayed all that day and night, and sent before a letter to the Prior of *Sacapula* of my going thither the next day. In *Chantlan* I was very kindly used by the *Indians*, and liked the Towne the better for the excellent grapes which there I found, not planted like vineyards, but growing up in harbours, which shew that if that land were planted, it would certainly yeeld as good grapes for wine, as any are in *Spain*. They are carried from that place to *Guatemala*, which stands from it neer forty leagues, and are sold about the streets for rarities and great dainties; and well may they, for from *Mexico* to *Guatemala* there are none like them. The next morning I made haste to be gone, that I might come sooner to *Sacapula*, where I was to finde those of mine owne profession, with whom I knew I might stay and rest a whole weeke if I pleased. I had not rid above three leagues, when I began to discover at a low and deep bottomie, a pleasant and goodly valley, laced with a River, whose

waters receiving the glorious brightnesse of *Phæbus* beames reverberated up to the top of the Mountaine, a delightfome prospect to the beholders; the more I hasted to that seeming Paradise, the more did the twinkling and wanton streame invite mee downe the hill, which I had no sooner descended, but I found in an harbour by the water side the Prior of *Sacapula* himselfe with a good traine of *Indians* waiting for mee with a cup of *Chocolatte*. At the first sight I was a little daunted to behold the Prior, who looked most fearfully with a bladder from his throat swelled almost round his necke, which hung over his shoulders and breast, and stayed up his chin, and lifted up his head so, that hee could scarce looke any whither but up to heaven. In our discourse he told mee that dis ease had beene upon him at least ten yeeres, and that the water of that River had caused it in him, and in many others of that Town. This made mee now as much out of love with the River, as above the hill I had liked the goodly sight of it, and therefore resolved not to stay so long in that place as I had thought, lest the waters should marke me for all my life, as they had done this Prior; whose name was Fryer *John De la Cruz*, a Biscaine borne, and (like some of that Nation) a little troubled with the simples, but a good hearted man, humble, and well beloved over all the Country both by *Spaniards* and *Indians*. When I came to the Towne I discovered many men and women with bladders in their throats like the poore Prior, which made mee almost unwilling to drink there any *Chotolatte* made with that water, or eat any thing dressed with it; untill the Prior did much encourage mee and told mee that it did not hurt all but onely some, and those who did drink it cold; wherewith I resolved to stay there foure or five daies, because of the old Priors importunity, who would faine have had mee continue to live with him, promising to teach mee the *Indian* language in a very short time. But higher matters calling mee to *Guatemala*, I excused my selfe, and continued there five dayes with much recreation. The Town though it be not in the generall very rich, yet there are some *Indian* Merchants who trade about the country and especially to *Sucbuspeques* where is the chief store of *Cacao*, and thereby some of this Towne of *Sacapula*, have enriched themselves; the rest of the people trade in pots and pans, which they make of an earth there fit for that purpose. But the principall Merchandize of this place is salt, which they gather in the morning from the ground that lyeth neere the River. The aire is hot, by reason the Town standeth low, and compassed with high hills on every side. Besides many good fruits which are here, there are Dates as good as those in that come from *Barbary*, and many trees of them in the Garden belonging to the Cloister. After I had here wearied out the wearinesse, which I brought in my bones from the *Cuchumatanes*, I departed taking my way to *Guatemala*, and from *Sacapula* I went to a Town called *St. Andres*, or *St. Andrews*, which standeth six or seven leagues from *Sacapula*, a great Town, but nothing remarkable in it, save onely Cotton wooll and Turkies, and about it some rich *Estancia's* or *Farmes* of Cattell, which are commodiously seated here, it being a plain *Champaigne* Country. Yet at further end of this plain there is a Mountaine which discourageth with the sight all such as travell to *Guatemala*; from *St. Andres* I prepared my selfe for the next daies journey, which was of nine long leagues, to a very great Town called by two names, by some *Sacualpa*, by others *Sta. Maria Zojabab*, to the which I could not goe without passing over that Mountaine. I sent word of going to *Zojabab* the day before (as is the custome there) that mules and horses might meet mee upon the Mountaine; and the night before I went to a *Rancho* (which is a lodge built for travellers to rest when the journey is long) which stood within a league of the Mountaine by a River, where with the waters murmur, and refreshing gales I tooke good rest. In the morning having refreshed my selfe, and my *Indians* with *Chocolatte* I set out to encounter with that proud Mountaine; and when I came unto it I found it not so hard to overcome, as I had conceived, the way lying with windings and turnings; But the higher I mounted the more my eyes were troubled with looking to the River below, whose rockes were enough to astonish and make a stout heart tremble. About the middle of the Mountaine the *Indians* of *Zojabab* met with a mule for mee, and another for my carriage in a narrow passage where the way went wheeling. Here I lighted, whilst the *Indians* helped one another to unload and load the mule that came of refresh. Out of the narrow way the side of the Mountaine was steepy, and a fearefull precipice of two or three miles to the bottome, almost bare of trees, here and there one onely growing. My heart was true unto mee, wishing

mee to walke up a foot untill I came unto some broader passage; but the *Indians* perceiving my feare told me there was no danger, assuring mee further that the Mule they had brought was sure, and had been well used to that mountaine. With their perswasions I got up, but no sooner was I mounted when the Mule began to play her pranks and to kick, and to leap out of the way, casting me down and herselfe, both rousing and tumbling a pace to the rocks and death, had not a shrub prevented me, and a tree stopped the Mules blind fury. The *Indians* cried out, *milagro, milagro*, miracle, miracle, *Santo, Santo*, a Saint, a Saint, to me so loud as if they would have had their cry reach to *Rome* to helpe forward my canonization, for many such miracles have some been noised at *Rome*, and with further contribution of mony have been enrolled in the booke and Catalogue of Saints. Whilst the *Indians* helped me up and brought the Mule againe into the way, they did nothing but flatter me with this terme Saint, which they needed not have done, if as they considered my dangerous fall and stopping at a shrub (which was by chance, and not by miracle) they had further considered my passion and hasty wrath (not bestitting a Saint) wherewith I threatned to baste their ribs for deceiving mee with a yong Mule not well accustomed to the saddle. But all my hasty words and anger could not discredit me with them, nor lessen their concept of my holinesse and sanctity, who hold the anger and wrath of a Preist to be the breath of Gods nostrils, and with this their foolish concept of mee, they kneeled before me kissing my hands. The businesse being further examined, they confessed that they had been mistaken in the Mules, having saddled for me that which should have carried my Petaca's, or leatherne chests, which was a yong Mule accustomed onely to carriages, and not to the saddle, and upon that which should have been saddled they put my carriage. Whilst they unloaded and loaded again and saddled the right Mule, I walked up the hill about a mile, and when they overtook me I got up and rid till I met with my refreshing harbour and Chocolate, and many *Indians* that came to receive me, among whom it was presently noised that I was a Saint and had wrought a miracle in the way; with this the rest of the *Indians* kneeled to me and kissed my hands, and in the way that we went to the Towne, all their talk was of my sanctity. I was much vexed at their simplicity, but the more they saw mee unwilling to accept of that honour, the more they pressed it upon me. When I came to the Town I told the Frier what had happened, and what the foolish *Indians* had conceived; at which he laughed, and told me that he would warrant me if I staid long in the Towne, all the men and women would come to kisse my hands and to offer their gifts unto me. He knew well their qualities, or else had taught them this superstition with many others; for no sooner had we dined, but many were gathered to the Church to see the Saint that was come to their Towne, and that had wrought a miracle in the mountaine as he came. With this I began to be more troubled then before at the folly of the simple people, and desired the Fryer to checke and rebuke them, who by no means would, but rather laughed at it, saying, that in policy we ought to accept of any honour from the *Indians*, for as long as we had credit and an opinion of Saints among them, so long we should prevaile to do any with them, yea even to command them and their fortunes at our pleasure. With this I went downe with the Frier to the Church, and sate downe with him in a chaire in the Quire, representing the person of such a Saint as they imagined me to be, though in reality and truth but a wretched sinner.

No sooner had we taken up our places, when the *Indian* men, women, and children came up by three and four, or whole families to the Quire, first kneeling down for my blessing, and then kissing my hands, they began to speake to me in their *Indian* complements to this purpose, that their Town was happy and doubtlesse blessed from heaven by my coming into it, and that they hoped their soules should be much the better if they might partake of my prayers to God for them. And for this purpose some offered unto me money, some hony, some eggs, some little mantles, some Plantins, and other fruits, some fowles, and some Turkeys. The Frier that sate by me I perceived was overjoyed with this, for he knew I was to be gone, and would leave unto him all those offerings. I desired him to make answer unto the *Indians* in my behalfe, excusing me as not well versed in their language (yet the fooles if they thought and judged me to be a Saint, might have expected from me also the gift of tongues) which he did telling them that I had been but a while in that Country, and though I understood part of their language, yet could not speake nor pronounce it perfectly, and therefore

therefore from me he did give them hearty thanks for the great love they had shewed unto an Ambassadour of God, witnessing it with so many sorts of offerings, which assuredly should remind him and mee of our offerings for them, in our praiers and hearty recommendations of them and their children unto God. Thus was that ceremony ended, the *Indians* dismissed, and the Frier and I went up to a chamber, where he began to tell his eggs and fowles and to dispose of some of them for our supper; he told me he would take them, but at my departure would give me somewhat for them; he bad me keep what money they had given me, and told me I was welcome unto him, and no burden some guesse, but very profitable, who had brought with me store of provision for my selfe and for him many daies after. The money I received came to forty Rials, besides twenty which he gave me for the other offerings, which might be worth forty more; all this I got for having a fall from a Mule, and for not breaking my necke. I would faine have departed the next morning, but *John Vidall* (so was the Frier named) would not permit me, for that the next journey was of at least 20 leagues, and therefore he would have me rest my selfe the next day.

This Towne of *Zojabab*, or *Sacnappa* is the biggest and fairest of all the Towns that belong unto the Priory of *Sacnappa*; the *Indians* are rich, and make of their Cotton-wool many mantles, they have plenty of hony, and great flocks of goats and kids; but here, nor in all the Townes behind there is no wheat, save only *Indian* Maiz. The next day some small offerings fell unto mee, but nothing like the day before; and so I told the Frier, that now the peoples devotion was decayed, I would bee gone in the morning before day. That night the chiefe *Indians* of the Towne came to offer their service and attendance upon me to a Rancho or lodge that standeth in the middle way, but I would not accept of the great ones, but desired that I might have three onely of the meaner sort to guide mee till I met with company from the Towne whither I was going, and whither I had sent warning of my coming. The time appointed was three of the clock in the morning; at which houre after a little sleep I was called, and having drunke my *Chocolatte*, and eat a maple bread with a little conserve, I prepared my selfe for my journey, and found the *Indians* ready waiting for me in the yard, with pieces of pine-wood, which burn like torches, and with which they use to travell in the night, and to shew the way to him whom they guide. A little from the Towne wee had some craggy wayes, which indeed had need of lights, but afterwards we came into a plaine champaigne Countrey, which continued till within a league of the middle way lodge; to the which we were to descend a steep hill. When we came thither (which was about seven in the morning) we found our fresh supply waiting for us, who had set out from their Towne at midnight to meet us (note the *Indians* subjection to their Preests command) and had made us a fire, and warmed water for our *Chocolatte*. Which whilst I was drinking, the *Indians* of *Zojabab*, who had guided me thither, gave notice to those that came to receive from *St. Martin* (so was the Towne called whither I was that day minded) of my miracle and sanctity, wishing them to reverence and respect me in the way. But not for this their foolish report did I make the *Indians* of *Zojabab* drinke every one a cup of *Chocolatte*, and so dismissed them; and took forwards my journey to *St. Martin*. Most of the way was hilly and craggy till we came within two miles of the Towne; to the which we arrived by noone. This Towne is cold, standing high, yet pleasant for the prospect almost to *Guatemala*; here, and in most of the Towns about it is most excellent wheat. The hony of this Towne is the best in the Countrey; but above all it furnisheth *Guatemala* with Quails, Partridges, and Rabbits. It is the first Towne wee enter into belonging to the City and command of *Guatemala*; which did not a little comfort me, that now I wanted but one good journey to make an end of my long, tedious and wearisome travelling. The Frier of this Towne named *Thomas de la Cruz* belonged unto the Dominican Cloister of *Guatemala*; he was a *Criollian*, but yet he entertained me very lovingly. I staid with him but that night. And in the morning (though I might have gone to dinner to *Guatemala*) I would needs goe by the way to one of the biggest Townes in that Countrey, called *Chimaltunango*, standing in an open valley three leagues from the City, consisting of a thousand house-keepers, and rich *Indians* who trade much about the Countrey. In this Towne in my time there was one *Indian*, who alone had bestowed upon the Church five thousand duckates. The Church yeelds to none in the City of *Guatemala*, and in musick it exceeds most about the Country. The chief feast of *Chimaltunango* is upon

upon the 26. day of *July*, (which they call *St. Annes* day) and then is the richest faire that ever my eyes beheld in those parts of all sorts of Merchants and Merchandize; It is futher set forth with Bull-baiting, Horce-racing, Stage-plays, Maskes, dances, Mulick, and all this gallantly performed by the *Indians* of the Town. The Fryer of this Town was a Dominican, belonging to the Cloister of the Dominicans of *Guatemala*, named *Alonso Hidalgo*, a four-eyed old man, for hee alwaies wore spectacles. Hee was a *Spaniard* borne, but having bene brought up in that Country from his youth, and having taken his habit and vowes in *Guatemala* amongst the *Criolians*, hee degenerated from his birth and Country-men, hating all such as came from *Spain*. Hee was deadly enemy to the Provinciall (ayming indeed himselfe to bee Provinciall with the favour of the *Criolians*) and so I perceived hee would have picked a quarrell with mee) whilst I was with him; hee told mee I was welcome, though hee had little reason to bid any welcome that had come from *Spain*, who hee thought came but to supplant those that had been born and brought up there in their own Country, and that forought hee knew, I learning the language of those *Indians* might one day dispossesse him of that Towne, wherein hee had continued above ten years; hee envied much against the Provinciall and Fryer *John Baptist* the Prior of *Guatemala*; whom hee knew to bee my friend; But to all this I answered not a word, respecting his grave and old age, and Crystall spectacles. At last he told mee that hee had heard say, that the *Indians* of *Zojabab* had cried mee up for a Saint, which hee could not believe of any that came from *Spain*, much lesse of mee that came from *England* a country of hereticks; but hee feared rather that I might come as a spie, to view the riches of that their Country, and betray them hereafter to *England*; and that in *Guatemala* there were many rich pieces, especially a picture of our Lady, and a lampe in the Cloister of the Dominicans, which he doubted not but I would bee carefull to pry into. But all this I put up with a jest, saying, that I would bee sure to take notice first of the riches of his chamber in pictures, hangings, and rich Cabinets, and that if the *English* came thither in my time, I would surely conduct them to it; and if hee himselfe would but cause a set of teeth of silver to bee set in his gums and jawes in stead of those leaden ones, (for hee was so old that hee had lost all his teeth, and had got some of lead in their stead) then surely I would also conduct the *English* to him as to a rich prize for his teeth, and that I would warrant him hee should bee well used for his outward and inward riches; and that this my counsell might bee profitable and of consequence to him, I told him; for if the *English* should come, certainly they would try of what metall his teeth were made, thinking that they might bee of some rare and exquisite substance found onely in that Country, and so might cause him to drink such hot and scalding broth, (to try whether they were lead) as might melt them in his mouth, and make the melted lead runne downe his throat, which if they were of silver, they would not doe. Hee perceived I jeered him, and so hee let mee alone; I was glad I had put him out of his former byas of rayling; so dinner being ended, I told him I would not stay supper, but goe to *Guatemala* to a tight supper in the Cloister, for that hee had given mee such a dinner, as I feared I should not have digested it in few daies. I desired him to let me have *Indians* to guide me to *Guatemala*, which he willingly performed, peradventure fearing that if I stayed supper with him, I should melt the teeth in his mouth with some scalding cup of my *Chocolatte* brought from *Chiapa*, or that in the night I should rife or plunder his chamber of his rich Idols and Ebony Cabinets. The *Indians*, being come, I made haste to be gone from that four-eyed beast, being now desirous of a constant rest in *Guatemala*. Within a league from this Town of *Chimaltenango*, the Rode way leaving that open, wide, and spacious valley, contracts and gathereth in it selfe between hills and mountaines standing on each side, and so continueth to the City. From this Valley unto *Guatemala*, neither is there any ascent or descent but a plaine, broad and sandy way. The eye hath much to view, though compassed with Mountaines, in these two last leagues; for yet it may behold a Town of *Indians* which taketh up most of the way, and is counted as big as *Chimaltenango*, if not bigger, the houses lying scattered with a distance one from another, mingled with many fair buildings of *Spaniards*, who resort much thither from the City for their recreation. This Town is called *Xocotenango*, of a fruit named *Xocotte*, which is most plentifull there; and all about the Country; it is fresh and cooling, of a yellow colour when ripe, and of two sorts, some sweet, and others sowre, of the stones whereof the *Indians* make a
fire;

fire; they lie so thick in the way, dropping from the trees for want of gathering and spending them all, that the *Spaniards* have begun to practise the buying of Hogs on purpose to let them runne about that high way, finding that they fat as speedily and as well with those plumes, as our Hogs doe in *England* with Akorns. All this way are also many faire gardens, which supply the Markets of *Guatemala* with herbs, roots, fruits, and flowers all the year. There are further in this Rode three water mills for the corn of the City, whereof the chief and the richest belongs to the Dominican Fryers of *Guatemala*, who keep there a Fryer constantly with three or foure Blackmores to doe and oversee the worke; What will not those Fryers doe to satisfie their covetous mindes? Even dully Millars they will become to get wealth. The Frontispice of the Church of this Town is judged one of the best pieces of worke thereabouts; the high Altar within is also rich and stately, being all daubed with gold. I made no stay in this place, because I knew I should have many occasions after my settling in the City to come unto it. And thus keeping between the hills I continued on my journey till I came to *Guatemala*, whose Dominions, riches and greatnesse the following chapter shall largely shew.

CHAP. XVIII.

Describing the Dominions, Government, Riches, and greatnesse of the City of Guatemala, and Country belonging unto it.

Had not rid on above a mile from the Church of *Xocotenango*, when the hills and Mountaines seemed to depart one from another, leaving a more spacious object for the eye to behold, and a wider Valley to wander in. The fame of that City from *Mexico* and *Chiapa* had raised up my thoughts to conceit of some strong walls, Towers, Forts or Bulwarks to keep out an aspiring or attempting enemy; But when I came neere and least thought of it, I found my self in it without entring through walls, or gates, or passing over any bridge, or finding any watch or guard to examine who I was; but passing by a new built Church, standing neere a place of dunghills, where were none but mean houfes, some thatched, and some tyled, and asking what Town that was, answer was made me that it was the City of *Guatemala*, and that that, being called *St. Sebastian*, was the onely Parish Church of the City. With this my high conceiting thoughts stooped down to think of some second *Chiapa*; till having continued on a while by houses on my right hand and dunghills on my left, I came to a broader street having houses on each side, which seemed to promise a City at hand. At my first turning I discovered a proud and stately Cloister, which was the place of rest to my wearied body. I surrounded it to finde out the back gate, and there lighted, and enquired for the Prior, who bad me very welcome, assuring me that for the Provincials sake, I should want no encouragement, and that hee would doe for mee much more then what the Provincially had signified unto him by Letters. He told mee hee had bene brought up in *Spain*, in the Country of *Asturias*, where many *English* ships did use to come, and having seen there many of my Nation, he affected them very much, and to mee as one of so good a Nation, and as a stranger and Pilgrime out of my owne Country, hee would shew all the favour that the utmost of his power would afford. How glad was I, to find in him so contrary an opinion to that of foure eyed *Hidalgo*? And how did he performe his words? He was the chief Master and Reader of Divinity in the University, his name Master *Jacinto de Cabanas*, who finding mee desirous to follow the Schools, and especially to hear from him some lessons of Theologie, within the first quarter of yeer, that I had been his constant and attentive Auditor, graced mee with a publick act of conclusions of Divinity, which I was to defend under his direction and moderation in the face of the whole Univeristy and Assembly of Doctors and Divines, against the Tenents of *Scotus* and *Suarez*. But the principall and head conclusion was concerning the birth of the Virgin *Mary*, whom both Jesuites, *Suarez* and Franciscans, and Scotists hold to have bene borne without Originall sinne, or any

any guilt or itaine of it, against whose fond, foolish and ungrounded fancies, I publickly defended with *Thomas Aquinas*, and all Thomists, that thee (as well as all *Adams* posterity) was borne in Originall. It was an act, the like whereof had not been so controverted in that Univerſity with arguments in *contra*, and their answers and solutions, and with reasons and arguments in *pro* many yeers before. The Jesuites stamped with their feet, clapt with their hands, railed with their tongues, and condemned it with their mouths for a heresie, saying, that in *England*, where were hereticks, such an opinion concerning Christs mother might bee held, and defended by mee who had my birth among hereticks, but that Master *Cabannas* borne among *Spaniards*, and brought up in their Univerſities, and being the chief Reader in that famous Academy should maintaine such an opinion, they could not but much marvaile and wonder at it. But with patience I told them, that strong reasons, and the further authority of many learned *Thomist* Divines should satisfie their vaine and clamorous wondring. The Act was ended, and though with Jesuites I could get no credit, yet with the Dominicans, and with Master *Cabannas*, I got so much that I never after lost it for the space of almost twelve yeers; but was still honored by the means of this *Cabannas* and Fryer *John Baptist* the Prior of *Chiapa* (who at Christmas ensuing was made Prior of *Guatemala*) with honors and preferments as great as ever stranger was living among *Spaniards*. These two above named being at Candlemas or beginning of *February* that same yeer at *Chiapa*, at the election of a new Provinciall, would not forget mee their poorest friend stil abiding in *Guatemala*, but remembring that the Univerſity (which belonged chieſly to the Cloister) at Michaelmas would want a new Reader or Master of Arts to begin with Logick, continue through the eight bookes of Physicks, and to end with the Metaphyſicks, propounded mee to the new elected Provinciall (whose name was Fryer *John Ximeno*) and to the whole Chapter and Conventicle of the Province for Reader of Arts in *Guatemala* the Michaelmas next ensuing. Their suit for mee was so earnest and their authority so great that nothing could bee denied them, and so they brought unto mee from the Provinciall Chapter these ensuing Letters Patents, from Fryer *John Ximeno*, whose form and manner I thought fit here to insert out of the Originall in *Spaniſh* (which to this day abideth with me) for curiosity and satisfaction of my Reader.

Fray *Iuan Ximeno* Predicador General y Prior Provincial deſta Provincia de *San Vicente* de *Chiapa* y *Guatemala*, Orden de Predicadores. Por quanto nuestro Convento de *Sancto Domingo* de *Guatemala* carece de Lector de Artes. Por la presente Instituyo y doy por Lector Al Padre fray *Thomas* de *Sancta Maria* (so was my Name then, and by this name will some *Spaniards* know mee, who may chance hereafter to read this, and curse mee) por la satisfaccion que tengo de su suficiencia. Y mando al Pe. Prior del dicho nuestro Convento, le ponga en possession del tal Officio. Y para mayor merito de obediencia le mando in virtute Spiritus sancti, et sanctae obedienciae, et sub precepto formali; In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti. Amen. Fecho en este nuestro Convento de *Chiapa* la Real en nueve de *Febrero* de 1647. Y la mande sellar con sello mayor de nuestro officio.

Fray Juan
or
Ximeno Plis

Por Mandado de Nostro Rdo.
Padre, Fray Juan de Sto.
Domingo Noto.

Notifique esta Patente a el Contenido, en 12 dias del mes de *Abril* de 1627.

Fray Juan
Baptista Por.

This Form according to the Originall in *Spaniſh* is thus in *English*, and to this purpose.

Fryer *Iohn Ximeno* Preacher Generall, and Prior Provinciall of this Province of *Saint Vincent* of *Chiapa* and *Guatemala*, Order of Preachre. Whereas

Whereas our Convent of Saint *Dominick* of *Guatemala* wanteth and stands in need of a Reader of Arts : By these presents I doe institute, name and appoint for Reader Fryer *Thomas* of Saint *Mary*, for the great satisfaction which I have of his sufficiency. And I command the Prior of the foresaid our Convent, that hee put him into full possession and enjoyment of the said Office. And for the greater merit of obedience I command him (our fore-named Reader) by vertue of the Holy Ghost, and of holy obedience, and under a formall precept, In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen. Dated in this our Convent of *Chiapa* the Royall, the ninth of *February*, 1627. And I commanded these to bee sealed with the great Seale of our Office.

Fryer *Iohn*
or
Ximeno Pal.

By the command of our Reverend
Father Fryer *Iohn* of St. *Dominick*. Notary.

Notified these Letters, Patents, unto the contained in them the 12. day of the month of *Aprill*. 1627.

Fryer *Iohn*
Baptist. Por.

This honour conferred upon mee a stranger, and new commer to the Province, made the *Crioliano* party and some others (who had ayimed at that place and preferment in the Univerfity) to stomach mee. But to mee it was a spur to stir and prick mee on to a more eager pursuit of learning, to frequent the Acad. my lessons with more care and diligence; and to spend my selfe and time, day and night, more in studying, that so I might performe with like honour that which was laid upon mee, and answer the expectation of my best and forwardest friends. Three yeeres I continued in this Convent and City in obedience to the forecited Patents; oftentimes I thought within my self that the honour of my *English* Nation here lay upon me in *Guatemala*, in not suffering any *Spaniard* to goe beyond mee, or to outbrave mee with gallant, witty and well seeming arguments; and so many times I would at nine of the clock at night, when others were gone to bed, take in my chamber a cup of hot *Chocolatte*, that with it I might banish sleep from mine eyes, and might the better continue in my study till one or two in the morning, being bound to awake and bee up again by six. I was loath in these three yeeres to take upon mee any other of such charges which are common in such Convents; but especially to preach much, and to hear the Confessions of such both men and women as resorted to the Church of that Cloister, lest hereby my studies might bee hindered, and time spent in other waies. Yet the Prior and Master *Cabanos* would often bee very importunate with mee, to obtaine the Bishops License for hearing of Confessions, and Preaching abroad in the City and Country (for in the Church of that Cloister I might and did sometimes, though feldome preach with Permission of the Provinciall) but this I strongly refused, untill such time as the Provinciall himselfe came to *Guatemala*, who hearing me once Preach, would by all meanes have mee further licensed and authorised from the Bishop, that so I might not bee straitned within the Cloisters limits, but abroad in other Churches might freely Preach, and thereby get some money for the better furnishing my selfe with Bookes. Hee therefore commanded mee to bee examined by five examiners all able Divines, for the space of three houres (as is the custome of that Order) and having three houres stood under their hard and rigid questions and examination, having also at the end obtained their approbation, then the Provinciall presented mee unto the Bishop with these words following, being taken out of the Originall yet abiding with mee.

Fray *Juan Ximeno Predicador General*, y Provincial desta Provincia de *San vicente de Chiapa y Guatemala*, Orden de Predicadores, Presento a Vestro

Vuestra Sennoria Illustrissima al Padre Fray Thomas de Santa Maria, examinado y a provado por cinco examinadores per vota Secreta, conforme a nuestras Constituciones, Para que Vuestra Sennoria Illustrissima se sirva de darle licencia para Confessar y Predicar a todo genero de Gente en su Obispado, Conforme a la Clementina, Dudum de Sepulturis.

A Vuestra Sennoria Illustrissima Suplico le aya por Presentado, y se sirva de darle la dicha licencia, que en ello recibire merced.

Fray Juan

or

Ximeno, Palis.

This forme of Presentation, used among them, naming the party presenting, and the party presented, is in English much to this purpose.

FRier *Iohn Ximeno*, Preacher Generall, and Provinciall of this Province of *St. Vincent*, of *Chiapa* and *Guatemala*, Order of Preachers, do present unto your Lordship the father *Frier Thomas* of *St. Mary* (already examined, and approved by five Examiners by secret Votes, according to our Rule and Constitutions) that your Lordship may be pleased to grant him licence to heare Confessions, and to preach to all sorts of people in your Bishoprick, according to that Rule and Canon of Pope *Clement*, beginning with these words, *Dudum de Sepulturis*.

I humbly beseech your Lordship, to have him for presented, and to grant him your foresaid licence, and therein I shall receive great favour.

Frier Iohn

or

Ximeno. Palis.

The Bishop of *Guatemala* being my great friend, and a well-wisher to learning and especially to that *Univerſitie*, needed not many words of intreaty, but presently gave me this Licence written on the back-side of the Presentation, and that without any further examination by his Clergy and part of his Chapter, which hee may and doth use when he pleaseth.

NOs el Maestro Don Fray Ioan de Sandoval, y, Capata, de la Orden de San Augustin por la Divina Gracia Obispo de Guatemala y la Vera Paz, del Consejo de su Magistad etc. Por la Presente damos licencia al Padre Fray Thomas de Santa Maria de la Orden de Predicadores Contenido en la Presentacion de su Religion atras Contenida, Para que en todo este nuestro Obispado pueda Predicar, y Predique la Palabra de Dios, y para que pueda administrar, y administre el Sacramento Santo de la Penitencia generalmente a todas las Personas que con el tubieren Devoción de Confessare (excepto Monias) y a las Personas que Confessare pueda absolver, y absuelva de todos sus pecados, Crimines y excessos, excepto de los casos reservados a su santidad, y a Nos por Derecho. Dada en la Ciudad de Santiago de Guatemala, en quarto de Diziembre de Mill, y Seyscientos y veynte y nueve Annos.

Cl Obispo de
Guatemala

Por Mandado del Ill^{ma} mi Sen-
nor Pedro Ramirez de Valdes,
Secretario.

This forme of licence to preach and heare confessions, from the Bishop of Guatemala, is worth Englishing for some things in it, which I shall observe with inclosed Parentheses as I goe along for the better reminding my Reader of them.

VVe (*Bishops in that Church scorne the name, of a singular person, shewing they have the power of, all persons joyned together in them, of rich and poore, of subject and Prince*) Master and Lord, Frier John de Sandoval y Capata of the Order of St. Augustin (*though brought up in a poore Mendicant Cloister, yet now he takes upon him the Title of a Lord, and shewes how Prelates in that Church use to Lord it over the people*) by the Divine Grace Bishop of Guatemala and the Vera Paz (*he styles himselfe a Bishop by Divine Grace, whereas he himselfe according to the common report of him, as also are most Bishops there made, was made Bishop not by any Divine Grace, but by unwarranted Simony and favour from Courtiers, having given many thousand Crownes for that his Bishopricke*) of his Majesties Councell (*Bishops there must be Counsellors to Kings, and meddle in Court and Politicke affaires*) by these Present give licence to Father Frier Thomas of Saint Mary, of the Order of Preachers, contained in the Presentation from his religious Order on the back-side of this our licence, that throughout all our Bishopricke, he may and doe preach the word of God (*yet I confesse This word of God is little used in Sermons in that Church, but rather the words of Saints of theirs and Fathers, and lying words of miracles, wherewith they stuffe up a whole houres preaching*) and that he may and doe administer the holy Sacrament of Penance (*not only as it came from the mouth of him to whom the Seraphims cry Holy, Holy, Holy, but as it came from the head of, Rome, who sacrilegiously styles himselfe Holinesse and most Holy Father. Not a Sacrament as so left and ordained by Christ, but one of Romes seven Sacraments, which as it is a City knowne and distinguished by seven hills, so will that Church be knowne and distinguished from the true Church by seven Sacraments*) generally to all persons, which shall have devotion to confesse with him, excepting Nuns (*this Bishop had in that City one of the six Iudges of the Chancery his daughter a Nun called Donna Juana de Maldonado y Paz, whom he loved dearly, and much conferred with her in private in the Cloister, whose private conferences he was jealous they should be knowne in Confession, and therefore would suffer none to hear Nuns Confessions, but such as were his most intimate friends, and of whom he had great satisfaction, alleadging this reason that such as heard Nuns Confessions ought to be very skilfull and experienced in such waies, and men of age, for that greater cases of Conscience were to be met with in Nuns Confessions, than in others. By which reason he unwisely brought an aspersion upon these Virgins, who should live chastly and holy as separated from the world and inclosed, and yet it seems by this Bishops opinion, that within their inclosed walls sins are committed more grievous then abroad in the wide world, and such as may puzzle a Ghostly Father if not skillfull and ancient*) and that he may and doe absolve all persons which shall confesse with him (*if onely God can pardon and absolve from sinne, Oh how is Gods power arrogated and taken, yea and abused by those sacrilegious Priests!*) from all their sins, crimes, and excesses, excepting such cases as are reserved to his Holinesse, and to us by Canon right. (*A wicked rule and Canon, a Government certainly most cruell and tyrannicall, that bindes poor wretches in some cases to goe from America to Rome, at least eight thousand miles to cleare their Consciences before the Pope, or else they must die without pardon and absolution from sinne, many having not meanes to goe thither, nor gifts to bestow upon their Pope, who must be bribed to absolve them. O how more sweet,*

cowfor-

comfortable and safe is it for a heinous sinner and offendour even at home or in the Church grievous within his heart, and keeping within himselfe, to lift up a broken heart, and make that poste and flie with wings of Eagles to the high Throne of Gods grace and mercy, with assured confidence that there only is pardon, remission and absolution granted to all such as doe truely and unfeignedly repent of their sins, crimes and excesses!) Dated in the City of St. James of Guatemala, the fourth day of December, in the yeer of our Lord 1629.

The Bishop of
Guatemala

By the Command of my most
Illustrious Lord, Peter Ramirez
de Valdes. Secretary.

Thus with full and ample Commission from the Bishop and the Provinciall was I settled in Guatemala, to read and preach, where, (although I might have continued many yeers and was offered to read Divinity, having in part begun it one quarter of a yeere) I continued yet but three yeers and almost an halfe for the reason I shall shew hereafter. So what in that time I could observe of that City, and of the Countrey round about, having had occasions to travaile about it both when I lived in Guatemala, and afterwards when I lived for above seven yeers in the Countrey Townes, I shall truly and faithfully recommend unto my Reader. This City of Guatemala (called by the Spaniards Santiago, or St. James of Guatemala) is seated in a valley, which is not above two miles and a halfe broad, for the high mountaines doe keep it close in; but in length towards the South-sea it continues a wide and champaigne Countrey, opening it selfe broader a little beyond that Towne, which to this day is called *la Ciudad Vieja*, or the old City, standing somewhat above three miles from Guatemala. Though the mountaines on each side doe strongly environ it, and especially on the East-side seem to hang over it, yet none of them are hinderers to Travellers, who over them have opened waies easie for man and beasts though heavily laden with wares of all sorts. The way from Mexico, if taken by the coast of Soconusco, and Suchtepeques comes into the City North-west-ward, which is a wide, open and sandy rode; if it be taken by Chiapa, it lieth North-east, and entreth into the City between the mountaines, as before hath been noted. West-ward to the South-sea the way lieth open through the valley and a champaigne Countrey. But South or South-East, the entrance is over high and steepy hills, which is the common Rode from Comayagua, Nicaragua, and the Golfo dulce or sweet Gulfe, where the ships come yeerly and unlade all the Commodities which are brought from Spaine for Guatemala. This also is the way followed by them who take a journey meer East-ward from this City. But the chiefest mountaines, which straighten in this City and valley are two, called Vulcanes, the one being a Vulcan of water, and the other a Vulcan or mountain of fire, termed so by the Spaniards, though very improperly a Vulcan may be said to containe water, it taking its name from the heathenish God Vulcan, whose profession and employment chiefly was in fire. These two famous mountaines stand almost the one over against the other, on each side of the valley; that of water hanging on the South-side almost perpendicularly over the City, the other of fire standing lower from it, more opposite to the old City. That of water is higher then the other, and yeelds a goodly prospect to the sight, being almost all the yeer green, and full of Indian Milpa's, which are plantations of Indian wheat, and in the small and petty Townes which lie some halfe way up it, some at the foot of it, there are Roses, Lillies, and other flowers all the yeer long in the gardens, besides Plantains, Apricockes, and many sorts of sweet and delicate fruits. It is called by the Spaniards, *el Vulcan del agua*, or the Vulcan of water, because on the other side of it from Guatemala it springs with many brookes towards a Towne called Saint Christopher, and especially is thought to preserve and nourish on that side also a great lake of fresh water, by the Townes called Amatlan and Petapa. But on the side of it towards Guatemala and the valley it yeelds also so many springs of sweet and fresh water, as have caused and made a river which runneth along the valley close by the City, and is that which drives the water-mills spoken of before in Xocotenango. This river was not known when first the Spaniards conquered that Countrey; but since, according to their constant Tradition,

on) the City of *Guatemala* standing higher and neerer to the *Vulcan* in that place and Town which to this day is called *la Ciudad Vieja*, or the old City, there lived in it then about the year 1534. a Gentlewoman called *Donna Maria de Castilia*, who having left her husband in the warres, and that same year buried also all her children, grew so impatient under these her crosses and afflictions, that impiously she defied God, saying, What can God do more unto me now then he hath done? he hath done his worst without it be to take away my life also, which I now regard not. Upon these words there gushed out of this *Vulcan* such a flood of water as carried away this woman with the streame, ruined many of the houses, and caused the inhabitants to remove to the place where now standeth *Guatemala*. This is the *Spaniards* own Tradition, which if true, should be our example to learne to feare and not to defie God, when his judgements shew him to us angry and a God that will overcome, when he judgeth. From that time, and from this their Tradition is the Towne now standing where first stood *Guatemala*, called *la Ciudad Vieja*, or the old City, and hath continued a river which before was not knowne, having its head and spring from this high *Vulcan*, whose pleasant springs, gardens, fruits, flowers and every green and flourishing prospect might be a fair object to a *Mortals* wit, who here would fancie a new *Parnassus*, find out new steps of flying *Pegasus*, and greet the Nymphes and nine Sisters with this their never yet discovered and *American* habitation. This *Vulcan* or mountaine is not so pleasing to the sight (whose height is judged full nine miles unto the top) but the other which standeth on the other side of the valley opposite unto it, is unpleasing and more dreadful to behold; for here are ashes for beauty, stones and flints for fruits and flowers, baldnesse for greennesse, barrennesse for fruitfulnesse, for water whisperings and fountaine murmurs, noise of thunders and roaring of consuming metals, for running streams, flashings of fire, for tall and mighty trees and Cedars, Castles of smoak rising in height to out-dare the skie and firmament, for sweet and odoriferous and fragrant smells, a sink of fire and brimstone, which are still in action striving within the bowels of that ever burning and fiery *Vulcan*. Thus is *Guatemala* seated in the midlt of a Paradise on the one side and a hell on the other, yet never hath this hell broke so loose as to consume that flourishing City. True it is formerly many years agoe it opened a wide mouth on the top, and breathed out such fiery ashes as filled the houses of *Guatemala* and the Country about, and parched all the plants and fruits, and spued out such stones and rockes which had they fallen upon the City would have crushed it to pieces, but they fell not farre from it, but to this day lie about the bottome and sides of it, causing wonder to those that behold them, and taking away admiration from them that admire the force and strength of fire and powder in carrying on a weighty bullet from the mouth of a cannon, whereas here the fire of this mountaine hath cast up into the aire and tumbled downe to the bottom of it such rockes as in bignesse exceed a reasonable house, and which not the strength of any twenty Mules (as hath been tried) have been able to remove. The fire which flasheth out of the top of this mountain is sometimes more and sometimes lesse, yet while I lived in the City, on a certaine time for the space of three or foure dayes and nights it did so burne that my friend Mr. *Cabanas* confidently avouched to mee and others, that standing one night in his window he had with the light of that fire read a letter, the distance being above three *English* miles. The roaring also of this monstrous beast is not constantly alike, but is greater in the summertime then in the winter, that is, from *October* to the end of *April*, then all the rest of the year; for then it seems, the winds entering into those concavities set the fire on work harder then at other times, and cause the mountaine to roare and the earth about to quake. There was a time three years before my coming to that City, when the inhabitants expected nothing but utter ruine and destruction, and durst not abide within their houses for nine dayes (the earthquakes continuing and increasing more and more) but made bowers and arbours in the Market place, placing there their Idoll Saints and Images, especially *St. Sebastian*, whom they hoped would deliver them from that judgement, and for this purpose they daily carried him through the streets in solemn and idolatrous procession and adoration. But all the while I lived there the noise within the mountaine, the smoake and flashes of fire without, and the Summer earth-quakes were such that with the use and custome of them I never feared any thing, but thought that City the healthiest and pleasantest place of dwelling that ever I came into in all my travels. The climate is very temperate, farre exceeding either *Mexico* or *Guaxaca*. Neither are the two fore-named Cities better

stored

stored with fruits, herbes for salets, provision of fish, and flesh, Beef, Mutton, Veale, Kid, Fowles, Turkeys, Rabbits, Quails, Partridges, Pheasants, and of *Indian* and *Spanish* Wheat, then is this City: from the South Sea (which lyeth in some places not above twelve leagues from it) and from the Rivers of the South Sea Coast, and from the fresh Lake of *Amatitlan* and *Petapa*, and from another Lake lying three or foure leagues from *Chimaltenango*, it is well and plentifully provided for of fish. But for Beef there is such plenty, that it exceeds all parts of *America*, without exception, as may be known by the Hydes, which are sent yearly to *Spain* from the country of *Guatemala*, where they commonly kill their Cattell, more for the gaine of their Hydes in *Spain*, then for the goodnesse or fatnesse of the flesh, which though it bee not to bee compared to our *English* Beef, yet it is good mans meat, and so cheap, that in my time it was commonly sold at thirtene pound and a halfe for half a Riall, the least coyne there, and as much as three pence here. Though all about this Country there are very great and spacious *Estancia's*, or Farmes for breeding onely, even near to the *Golfo Dulce*, where the ships ride that come from *Spain*, yet from *Comayagua*, *St. Salvador* and *Nicaragua*, is *Guatemala* stored; But above all are the great *Estancia's* in the South Sea Coast or Marsh, wherein my time there was a *Grazier* that reckoned up going in his owne *Estancia* and ground, forty thousand heads of Beasts, small and great, besides many which are called there *Simarrones*, or wild Cattell, which were strayed among the Woods and Mountaines, and could not bee gathered in with the rest, but were hunted by the Blackmores like wild Bores, and daily shot to death, lest they should too much increase and doe hurt. My selfe chanced to bee present at the Fair of the Town of *Petapa*, with a friend named *Lope de Chaves*, (who was as they call there, *Obligado*, or charged to provide flesh for six or seven Townes therabouts) who at one bargain, and of one man, bought six thousand head of Cattell, great and small, paying one with another eighteen Rials, or nine *English* shillings a head.

The manner and custome of *Guatemala* for the better providing both Beef and Mutton for it, and the Country Townes about, is this. Nine daies before *Michaelmas*, every day Proclamation is made about the City for an *Obligado*, or one that will bee bound to the City and Country for competent provision of Flesh meat upon forfeiture of such a summe of money to his Majesty, if hee faile, as shall bee agreed upon between him and the Court, and to the Inhabitants of the City; if hee fail in beef, hee is to allow in Mutton so many pounds at the same rate as hee should have allowed beef. If the *Obligado* faile in Mutton, hee is to allow in Fowle flesh, so many pounds and at the same rate as hee was to allow the Mutton; and this with consideration of the family, what competent allowance of flesh meat shall bee judged for a day, or the dayes that the *Obligado* shall fail. Besides this the Proclamation is made for whom offers most to his Majesty for one yeers Obligation. So that sometimes it happeneth that the eight daies severall men come into the Court, offering more and more, till upon the ninth day and last Proclamation, the Office is settled for one yeere upon him that hath offered most unto his Majesty. Thus many Butchers are not allowed but one onely *Obligado*, who also is abridged to so many pound for so much money, so that if any other besides him offer to kill or sell, he may follow an action and the Court against him: Thus the *Obligado* (who commonly is a monied man) buyeth by the hundred or by the thousand, as for the present hee findeth the expence of the City, without hee bee himselfe such a *Grazier*, as hath Cattell enough of his owne. Though Mutton bee not so plentifull as is Beef, yet there never wants from the Valley of *Mexico*, *Pinola*, *Petapa*, and *Amatitlan*, and the Marsh and other places. In the Valley forenamed I lived, and was well acquainted with one *Alonso Capata*, who had constantly going in the Valley four thousand sheep. *Guatemala* therefore is so well stored with good provision, plentifull and cheap, that it is hard to finde in it a begger, for with halfe a Riall the poorest may buy beef for a weeke, and with a few *Cacao's* they may have bread of *Indian* Maiz, if not of *Spanish* Wheat. This City may consist of about five thousand families, besides a Suburb of *Indians* called *el Barrio de Sto. Domingo*; where may bee two hundred families more. The best part of the City is that which joyneth to this Suburb of *Indians*, and is called also *el Barrio Santo de Domingo*, by reason of the Cloister of Saint *Dominick* which standeth in it. Here are the richest and best shops of the City, with the best buildings, most of the houses being new, and ately. Here is also a dayly *Tianguetz* (as they call it) or petty Market, where some

Indians all the day sit selling fruits, Heibs, and Cacao, but at the foure in the afternoon, this Market is filled for a matter of an houre, where the *Indian* women meet to sell their Country flap, (which is dainties to the *Criolians*) as *Atole*, *Pinole*, scalded Plantins, butter of the Cacao, puddings made of *Indian* Maiz, with a bit of Fowle or fresh Porke in them seasoned with much red biting Chile, which they call *Anacataniales*. The trading of the City is great, for by Mules it partakes of the best commodities of *Mexico*, *Guaxaca* and *Chiapa*, and Southward of *Nicaragua*, and *Costarica*. By Sea it hath commerce with *Peru*, by two Sea Ports and Havens, the one called *la Villa de la Trinidad*, the Village of the Trinity, which lyeth Southward from it five and twenty leagues; and by another called *el Realejo*, which lyeth five or six and forty leagues from it. It hath traffique with *Spain* by the North Sea from *Golfo dulce*, lying three-score leagues from it. It is not so rich as other Cities, yet for the quantity of it, it yeelds to none. There were in my time five (besides many other Merchants who were judged worth twenty thousand Duckats, thirty thousand, fifty thousand, some few a hundred thousand) who were judged of equall wealth, and generally reported to bee worth each of them five hundred thousand Duckats; the first was *Thomas de Silvezer*, a *Biscain* born, and *Alcalde de Corte*, the Kings High Justice, or chief Officer at Court; the second was *Antonio Justiniano*, a *Genovois* born, and one that bore often Offices in the City, and had many Tenements and houses, especially a great and rich Farme for corn and Wheat in the Valley of *Mexico*. The third was *Pedro de Lira*, born in *Castilia*, the fourth and fifth, *Antonio Fernandez*, and *Bartolome Numex*, both *Portingals*, whereof the first in my time departed from *Guatemala* for some reasons which here I must concale. The other foure I left there, the three of them living at that end of the City called *Barrio de Santo Domingo*, or the street of *St. Dominick*, whose houses and presence makes that street excell all the rest of the City, and their wealth and trading were enough to denominate *Guatemala* a very rich City. The Government of all the Country about, and of a'l *Honduras*, *Soconusco*, *Comayagua*, *Nicaragua*, *Costa Rica*, *Vera Paz*, *Cuchatepeques*, and *Chiapa*, is subordinate unto the Chancery of *Guatemala*; for although every Governour over these severall Provinces is appointed by the King and Councell of *Spain*, yet when they come to those parts to the enjoyment of their charge and execution office, then their actions, if unjust, are weighed, judged, censured, and condemned by the Court residing in the City. This Court of Chancery consisteth of a President, six Judges, one Kings Attourney, and two chief Justices of Court. The President, though hee have not the name and title of Viceroy, as they of *Mexico* and *Peru*, yet his power is as great and absolute as theirs. His Pension from the King is but twelve thousands Duckats a yeer; but besides this, if he be covetous, hee makes by bribes and trading twice as much more, nay what hee list, as was seen in the Count de la Gomera, President of that City and Chancery for the space of fourteen yeers, who departed in old age from *Guatemala* to *Canaria* (where was his house and place of birth) worth Millions of Duckats. After him succeeded *Don Juan de Guzman*, formerly President of *Santo Domingo*, who losing his Wife and Lady in the way, lost also his former spirit and courage, betaking himselfe wholly to his devotions, condemning wealth and riches, governing with love and mildnesse, which made the rest of the Judges, who were all for lucre, soone weary him out of his office, continuing in it but five yeers. His successor (whom I left there when I came away) was *Don Gonsalo de Paz y Lorenzana*, who was promoted from the Presidency of *Panama* to that place, and came into it with such a spirit of covetousnesse as the like had not been seen in any former President. Hee forbad all gaming in private houses in the City, which there is much used (though by women not so much as in *Mexico*) not for that hee hated it, but because hee envied others, what they got and gained by their Cards, drawing to himselfe thereby all that gaine, spending sometimes in one night foure and twenty paire of Cards, appointing a Page to assist at the Tables, and to see the box well paid for every paire of Cards, which for his, and his Court respect, was seldome lesse then a crown or two for every paire. Thus did hee lick up with his Cards most of the gamesters gaines, and would grudge and pick quarrels with such rich men whom hee knew to affect gaming, if they frequented not his Court at night time for that bewitching Recreation.

The Pension which the King alloweth to every Judge of Chancery is foure thousand Duckats

duckats yearly, and three thousand to his Attorney, all which is paid out of the Kings Exchequer abiding in that City. Yet what besides they get by bribes, and trading is so much, that I have heard a Judge himselfe *Don Luis de los Infantes* say, that though a Judges place at *Mexico* and *Lima* be more honourable, yet none more profitable then *Guatemala*. In my time were such causes at Chancery tried, as had never been, of murders, robberies, and oppressions, and whereas it was expected the offendants should be hanged, some banished, some imprisoned, some by fines impoverished, bribes took all off, so that I never knew one hanged in that City for the space of above eight yeers. The Churches though they be not so fair and rich as those of *Mexico*, yet they are for that place wealthy enough. There is but one Parish Church and a Cathedral which standeth in the chiefe Market-place. All the other Churches belong to Cloisters, which are of Dominicans, Franciscans, Mercenarians, Augulines, and Jesuites, and two of Nuns, called the Conception and *St. Catharine*. The Dominicans, Franciscans, and Mercenarians are stately Cloisters, containing neer a hundred Friers a piece, but above all is the Cloister where I lived, of the Dominicans, to which is joyned in a great Walk before the Church the Universtie of the City. The yearly revenues which come into this Cloister, what from the *Indian Towns* belonging to it, what from a water-mill, what from a farme for corne, what from an Estancia, or farme for Horses and Mules, what from an Ingenio, or farme of Sugar, what from a Mine of silver given unto it the yeer 1633. are judged to be (excepting all charges) at least thirty thousand duckats; wherewith those fat Friers feast themselves, and have to spare to build, and enrich their Church and Altars. Besides much treasure belonging to it, there are two things in it, which the *Spaniards* in merriment would often tell me that the *English* nation did much inquire after, when they tooke any ship of theirs at sea, and that they feared I was come to spie them, which were a Lampe of silver hanging before the high Altar, so big as required the strength of three men to hale it up with a rope; but the other is of more value; which is a picture of the Virgin *Mary* of pure silver, and of the stature of a reasonable tall woman, which standeth in a Tabernacle made on purpose in a Chappel of the Rosary with at least a dozen lampes of silver also burning before it. A hundred thousand duckats might soone be made up of the treasure belonging to that Church and cloister. Within the walls of the Cloister there is nothing wanting which may further pleasure and recreation. In the lower Cloister there is a spacious garden, in the midst whereof is a fountaine casting up the water, and spouting it out of at least a dozen pipes, which fill two ponds full of fishes, and with this their constant running give musick to the whole Cloister, and encouragement to many water-fowles and Ducks to bath and wash themselves therein. Yet further within the Cloister, there are other two gardens for fruits and herbage, and in the one a pond of a quarter of a mile long, all paved at the bottom, and a low stone wall about, where is a boat for the Friers recreation, who often goe thither to fish, and doe sometimes upon a seldaine want or occasion take out from thence as much fish as will give to the whole Cloister a dinner. The other Cloisters of the City are also rich; but next to the Dominicans is the Cloister of Nuns, called the Conception, in which at my time there were judged to live a thousand women, not all Nuns, but Nuns, and their serving maids or slaves, and yong children which were brought up and taught to worke by the Nuns. The Nuns that are professed bring with them their portions, five hundred duckats the least, some six hundred, some seven, and some a thousand, which portions after a few yeers (and continuing to the Cloister after the Nuns deasse) come to make up a great yearly rent. They that will have maids within to wait on them may, bringing the bigger portion, or allowing yearly for their servants diet. In this Cloister lived that *Donna Juana de Maldonado* Judge *Juan Maldonado de Paz* his daughter, whom the Bishop so much conversed withall. She was very fair and beautifull, and not much above twenty yeers of age, and yet his love blinding him, he strove what he could in my time against all the ancient Nuns and Sisters, to make her Superiour and Abbess, and caused such a mutiny and strife in that Cloister, which was very scandalous to the whole City, and made many rich Merchants and Gentlemen run to the Cloister with their swords drawne, threatning to breake in amongst the Nuns to defend their daughters against the powerfull faction which the Bishop had wrought for *Donna Juana de Maldonado*: which they had performed if the President *Don Juan de Guzman* had not sent *Juan Maldonado de Paz*, the yong Nuns father, to intreat her to desist in regard

of her yongage from her ambitious thoughts of being Abbess. With this the nuntiny both within and without ceased, the Bishop got but shame, and his yong Sister continued as before under command and obedience, to a more religious, grave, and aged Nun then her selfe. This *Dona Juana de Maldonado y Paz* was the wonder of all that Cloister, yea of all the City for her excellent voice, and skill in musicke, and in carriage, and education yielded to none abroad nor within; she was witty, well spoken and above all a *Calliope*, or Muse for ingenious and suddain verses; which the Bishop said, so much moved him to delight in her company and conversation. Her father thought nothing too good, nor too much for her; and therefore having no other children, he daily conferred upon her riches, as might best be seeme a Nun, as rich and costly Cabinets faced with gold and silver, pictures and Idols for her chamber with crownes and jewels to adorne them; which with other presents from the Bishop (who dying in my time leitt not wherewith to pay his debts, for that as the report went, he had spent himselfe and given all unto this Nun) made this *Dona Juana de Maldonado* so rich and statelie, that at her owne charges shee built for herselfe a new quarter within the Cloister with roomes and galleries, and a private garden-walke, and kept at worke and to wait on her halfe a dozen *Black-more* maids; but above all she placed her delight in a private Chappel or Closet to pray in, being hung with rich hangings, and round about it costly lamina's (as they call them) or pictures painted upon brasie set in blacke Ebony frames with corners of gold, some of silver brought to her from *Rome*; her Altar was accordingly decked with Jewels, Candlesticks, Crownes, Lamps, and covered with a Canopie embroidered with gold; in her Closet she had her small organ, and many sorts of muscicall instruments, whereupon she played sometimes by herselfe, sometimes with her best friends of the Nuns; and here especially she entertained with musicke her beloved the Bishop. Her Chappel or place of devotion was credibly reported about the City to be worth at least six thousand, which was enough for a Nun that had vowed chastity, poverty, and obedience. But all this after her decease she was to leave to the Cloister, and doubtlesse with this State, and riches she would win more and more the hearts of the common sort of Nuns, till she had made a strong party, which by this may have made her Abbess. Thus is ambition and desire of command and power crept into the walls of Nunneries, like the abominations in the wall of *Ezekiel*, and hath possessed the hearts of Nuns, which should be humble, poore, and mortified Virgins.

But besides this one Nun, there are many more, and also Friars, who are very rich, for if the City be rich (as is this) and great trading in it, they will be sure to have a share. Great plenty and wealth hath made the inhabitants as proud and vicious, as are those of *Mexico*. Here is not onely Idolatry, but Fornication and uncleannesse as publike as in any place of the *Indias*: The *Mulatta's*, *Black-mores*, *Mestica's*, *Indians*, and all common sort of people are much made on by the greater and richer sort, and goe as gallantly appparelled as doe those of *Mexico*, fearing neither a Vulcan or mountaine of water on the one side, which they confesse hath once poured out a flood and river executing Gods wrath against sin there committed; neither a Vulcan of fire, or mouth of hell on the other side, roaring within and threatening to raine upon them *Sodom's* ruine and destruction; neither the weaknes of their habitation, lying wide open on every side, without walls, or workes, or bulwarkes, to defend them, or without guns, drakes, bullets, or any Ammunition to scare away an approaching enemy, who may safely come and without resistance upon them who live as professed enemies of Jesus Christ. This is the City of *St. James* or *Santiago de Guatemala*, the head of a vaste and ample Dominion, which extendeth it selfe nine hundred miles to *Nicoya* and *Costa Rica* South-ward; three hundred miles to *Chiapa* and *Zoque* North-wards, a hundred and fourescore miles to the further parts of *Vera Paz*, and the *Golfo dulce* East-ward; and to the South-sea twenty or thirty, in some places forty miles West-ward.

From *Tecamepeque* (which is no harbour for any great ships) which standeth from *Guatemala* at least foure hundred miles, there is landing place for ships neerer to this City then is the village of *la Trinidad*, or of the Trinity. The chiefe commodities which flow along that coast are brought to *Guatemala*, are from the Provinces of *Socunusco* and *Sucubtepeques*, which are extreame hot, and subject to thunder and lightning, where groweth scarce any remarkable commodity, save only *Cacao*, *Achiote*, *Mecafucbil*,

Mecbasuchil, *Bainilla* and other drugs for *Chocolatte*, except it be some *Indigo* and *Cocobila* about *St. Antonio*, which is the chiefe and head Town of all the *Suchutepeques*. But all the coast neer joyning to *Guatemala*, especially about a Towne called *Izquinta*, or *Izquintepeque* twelve leagues from *Guatemala*, is absolutely the richest part of the Dominion of this City; for there is made the greatest part of the *Indigo* which is sent from *Honduras* to *Spain*, besides the mighty fernes of *Cattel* which are all along that marsh. Though the living there be profitable and the soile rich, yet it is uncomfortable by reason of the great heat, thundrings and lightnings, especially from *May*. to *Michaelmas*. If *Guatemala* be strong (though not in weapons or Ammunition) in people, it is strong from hence from a desperate sort of *Black-mores*, who are slaves in those *Estancia's* and farms of *Indigo*. Though they have no weapons but a *Machette*, which is a short Tuck, or lances to run at the wild *Cattel*, yet with these they are so desperate, that the City of *Guatemala* hath often been afraid of them, and the Masters of their owne slaves and servants. Some of them feare not to encounter a Bull though wild and mad, and to grapple in the rivers (which are many there) with *Crocodiles*, or *Lagarto's*, as there they call them, till they have overmastered them, and brought them out to land from the water.

This hot, but rich Country runnes on by the Sea side unto the Village of the Trinity, which (though somewhat dangerous) yet is a haven for ships from *Panama*, *Peru*, and *Mexico*; It serves to enrich *Mexico*, but not to strengthen it, for it hath neither Fort, nor Bulwarke, nor Castle, nor any Ammunition to defend it selfe. Between this Village and the other Haven called *Realejo*, there is a great Creek from the Sea; where small vessels doe use to come in for fresh water and Victuals to *St. Miguel's* Towne of *Spaniards* and *Indians*, from whence those that travaile to *Realejo* passe over in lesse then a day to a Town of *Indians* called *La Vieja*, two miles from *Realejo*, whither the journey by land from *St. Miguel* is of at least three daies. But neither this Creeke or Arme of the Sea is fortified (which might be done with one or two peeces of Ordnance at most placed at the mouth of the seas entrance) neither is the *Realejo* strong with any Ammunition, no nor with people, for it consists not of above two hundred families, and most of them are *Indians* and *Mestico's*, a people of no courage, and very unfit to defend such an open passage to *Guatemala* and *Nicaragua*, which here begins and continues in small and petty *Indian* Townes unto *Leon* and *Granada*.

On the North side of *Guatemala* I shall not need to add to what hath been said of *Suchutepeques* and *Socumucos*, and my journey that way from *Mexico* and *Chiapa*. The chiefe side of *Guatemala* is that on the East, which points out the way to the Golfe, or *Golfo dulce*, or as others call it *St. Thomas de Castilia*. This way is more beaten by Mules and Travellers, then that on the North side, for that *Mexico* standeth three hundred leagues from this City, and the Golfe but threescore, and no such passages as are in some places in the Rode to *Mexico*. Besides the great trading, commerce, and traffique, which this City enjoyeth by that Golfe from *Spain*, hath made that rode exceed all the rest. In *July* or at furthest in the beginning of *August* come into that Golfe three ships, or two, and frigate, and unlade what they have brought from *Spain* in *Bodega's* or great Lodges, built on purpose to keep dry and from the weather the commodities. They presently make hast to lade againe from *Guatemala* those Merchants commodities of returne, which peradventure have lien waiting for them in the *Bodega's* two or three moneths before the ships arrivall. So that these three moneths of *July*, *August* and *September*, there is sure to be found a great treasure. And O the simplicity or security of the *Spaniards*, who appoint no other watch over these their riches, save only one or two *Indians* and as many *Mulatto's*, who commonly are such as have for their misdeamours been condemned to live in that old and ruinated Castle of *St. Thomas de Castilia*: True it is, above it there is a little and ragged Town of *Indians*, called *S. Pedro*, consisting of some thirty families, who by reason of the exceeding heat, and unhealthinesse of the air, are alwaies sickly and scarce able to stand upon their legs. But the weaknesse of this Golfe within might well bee remedied and supplied at the mouth of the sea, or entrance into it by one or two at the most good peeces of Ordnance placed there. For the entrance into this Golfe is but as one should come in at the doore of some great Palace, where although the doore and entrance be narrow, the house within is wide and capacious. Such is this Golfe, whose entrance is straitned with two rocks or mountaines on each side (which would well become two great Pee-

ces, and so scorne a whole fleet, and secure a Kingdome of *Guatemala*, nay most of all *America*) but here being no watch nor defence, the ships come freely and safely in (as have done some both *English* and *Holland* ships) and being entred find a rode and harbour so wide and capacious as may well secure a thousand ships there riding at anchor, without any thought of feare from *St. Pedro*, or *Santo Thomas de Castilia*. I have often heard the *Spaniards* jeare and laugh at the *English* and *Hollanders*, for that they having come into this Golfe, have gone away without attempting any thing further upon the land. Nay while I lived there, the *Hollanders* set upon *Truxillo* the head Port of *Comayagua* and *Honduras*, and tooke it (though there were some resistance) the people for the most part flying to the woods, trusting more to their feet then to their hands and weapons) such cowards is all that Countrey full of) and whilst they might have fortified themselves there and gone into the Countrey, or fortifying that have come on to the Golfe (all *Guatemala* fearing it much and not being able to resist them) they left *Truxillo* contenting themselves with a small pillage, and gave occasion to the *Spaniards* to rejoyce and to make processions of thanksgiving for their safe deliverance out of their enemies hands.

The way from this Golfe to *Guatemala* is not so bad as some report and conceive, especially after *Michaelmas* untill *May*, when the winter and rain is past and gone, and the winds begin to dry up the waies. For in the worst of the year Mules laden with four hundred waight at least goe easily thorow the steepest, deepest, and most dangerous passages of the mountaines that lie about this Golfe. And though the waies are at that time of the year bad, yet they are so beaten with the Mules, and so wide and open, that one bad step and passage may be avoided for a better; and the worst of this way continues but fifteen leagues, there being Rancho's, or Lodges in the way, Cattel and Mules also among the woods and mountaines, for reliefe and comfort to a weary Traveller. What the *Spaniards* most feare untill they come out of these mountaines, are some two or three hundred *Black-mores*, *Simarrones*, who for too much hard usage, have fled away from *Guatemala* and other parts from their Masters unto these woods, and there live and bring up their children and encrease daily, so that all the power of *Guatemala*, nay all the Countrey about (having often attempted it) is not able to bring them under subjection. These often come out to the rode way, and set upon the *Reques* of Mules, and take of Wine, Iron, clothing and weapons from them as much as they need, without doing any harme unto the people, or slaves that goe with the Mules; but rather these rejoyce with them, being of one colour, and subject to slavery and misery which the others have shaken off; by whose example and encouragement many of these also shake off their misery, and joyne with them to enjoy libertie, though it be but in the woods and mountaines. Their weapons are bowes and arrows which they use and carry about them, onely to defend themselves, if the *Spaniards* set upon them; else they use them not against the *Spaniards*, who travell quietly and give them part of what provision they carry. These have often said that the chiefe cause of their flying to those mountaines is to be in a readinesse to joyne with the *English* or *Hollanders*, if ever they land in that Golfe; for they know, from them they may enjoy that liberty which the *Spaniards* will never grant unto them. After the first fifteen leagues the way is better, and there are little Towns and villages of *Indians*, who relieve with provision both man and beast. Fifteen leagues further is a great Town of *Indians*, called *Acabastlan*, standing upon a river, which for fish is held the best all that Countrey. Though here are many forts, yet above all there is one which they call *Bombo*, a thick round fish as long or longer then a mans arme, with onely a middle bone, as white as milke, at fat as butter, and good to boil, fry, stew or bake. There is also from hence most of the way to *Guatemala* in brooks and shallow rivers, one of the best sort of fishes in the world, which the *Spaniards* judge to be a kind of Trout, it is called there *Tepemchin*, the fat whereof resembles veal more than fish.

This Towne of *Acabastlan* is governed by a *Spaniard* who is called *Corrigidor*; his house extendeth no farther then to the Golfe, and to those Townes in the way. This Governour hath often attempted to bring in those *Simarrones* from the mountaines, but could never prevail against them. All the strength of this place may bee some twenty muskets (for so many *Spanish* houses there may bee in the Towne) and some few *Indians* that use bowes and arrowes, for the defence of the Town against the *Blackmore Simarrones*.

About *Acaabastlan*, there are many *Eltancia's* of Cattell and Mules, much Cacao, Achiotte, and drugs for Chocolate; There is also Apothecary drugs, as *Zawaprilla*, and *Canna sisula*, and in the Town as much variety of fruits and gardens, as in any one *Indian* Town in the Country; But above all *Acaabastlan*, is farre known, and much esteemed of in the City of *Guatemala*, for excellent Muskmillians, some small, some bigger then a mans head, whetewith the *Indians* load their mules and carry them to sell all over the Country. From thence to *Guatemala*, there are but thirty short leagues, and though some hills there be, ascents and descent, yet nothing trouble some to man or beast. Among these Mountaines there have beene discovered some mines of metall, which the *Spaniards* have begun to digge, and finding that they have been some of Copper, and some of iron, they have let them alone, judging them more chargeable then profitable. But greater profite have the *Spaniards* lost, then of iron and copper, for using the poore *Indians* too hardly, and that in this way, from *Acaabastlan* to *Guatemala*, especially about a place called, *el Agua Caliente* the hot water, where is a River; out of which in some places formerly the *Indians* found such store of gold, that they were charged by the *Spaniards* with a yearly tribute of gold. But the *Spaniards* being like *Valdivia* in *Chille*, too greedy after it, murdering the *Indians* for not discovering unto them whereabout this treasure lay, have lost both treasure and *Indians* also. Yet unto this day search is made about the Mountaines, the River, and the sands for the hidden treasure, which peradventure by Gods order and appointment, doth and shall lie hide, and kept for a people better knowing and honouring their God. At this place called *el Agua Caliente*, or the hot water, liveth a Blackmore in an *Eltancia* of his own, who is held to be very rich, and gives good entertainment to the Travellers that passe that way; he is rich in Cattell, Sheep, and Goates, and from his Farm stores *Guatemala* and the people thereabout with the best Cheefe of all that Country. But his riches are thought not so much to increase from his Farm and cheefes, but from this hidden treasure, which credibly is reported to be known unto him. He hath been questioned about it in the Chancery of *Guatemala*, but hath denied often any such treasure to be known unto him. The jealousie and suspicion of him, is, for that formerly having been a slave, hee bought his freedome with great summes of money, and since hee hath been free, hath bought that farm and much land lying to it, and hath exceedingly increased his stock; To which hee answereth, that when hee was young and a slave, hee had a good Master, who let him get for himself what hee could, and that hee playing the good husband, gathered as much as would buy his liberty, and at first a little house to live in, to the which God hath since given a blessing with a greater increase of stock. From this hot water three or foure leagues, there is another River called, *Rio de las Vacas*, or the River of Cows, where are a company of poore and country people most of them *Mestizo's*, and *Mulatto's*, who live in thatched houses, with some small stock of Cattell, spending their time also in searching for sands of Gold, hoping that one day by their diligent search they and their children, and all their Country shall bee enriched, and that *Rio de las Vacas*, shall parallel *Pacoltum*, and stirre up the wits of Poets to speak of it as much as ever they have spoke of that. From this River is presently discovered the pleasantest valley in all that Country, (where my selfe did live at least five years) called the Valley of *Mixco*, and *Pinola*, lying six leagues from *Guatemala*, being fifteen miles in length, and ten or twelve in breadth; Out of the inclosures this Valley is stored with sheep; the ground inclosed is divided into many Farnes, where groweth better wheat then any in the Country of *Mexico*: From this Valley the city is well provided of wheat, and Bisket is made for the ships that come every yeere unto the Golf. It is called the Valley of *Mixco*, and *Pinola* from two Townes of *Indians*, so called, standing opposite the one to the other on each side of the Valley, *Pinola*, on the left side from *Rio de las Vacas*, and *Mixco* on the right. Here do live many rich Farmers, but yet Country and clownish people, who know more of breaking clods of earth, then of managing Armes offensive or defensive. But among them I must not forget one friend of mine, called *Jaon Palomeque*, whom I should have more esteemed of then I did if I could have prevailed with him to have made him live more like a man then a bratt, more like a free man then a bond slave to his gold and silver. This man had in my time three hundred luty mules trained up in the way of the Golf, which hee divided into six Reguas, or

companies; and for them be kept above a hundred *Black-mores* slaves, men, women, and children, who lived near *Mixco* in severall thatched cottages. The house he lived in himselfe was but a poore thatched house, wherein he tooke more delight to live then in other houses which he had in *Guatemala*; for there hee lived like a wilde *Simarron* among his slaves and *Black-mores*, whereas in the City he should have lived civilly; there he lived with milke, curds, and blacke, hard and mauldy basket, and with a dry cassio, which is dry salted beefe cut out in thinne slices, and dried in the sun and wind, till there be little substance left in it, such as his slaves were wont to cary to the Golfe for their provision by the way, whereas if he had lived in the City, he must have eat for his credit what others of worth did eat. But the miser knew well, which was the best way to save, and so chose a field for a City, a cottage for a house, company of *Simarrones* and *Black-mores* for Citizens, and yet he was thought to be worth six hundred thousand duckats. He was the undoer of all others who dealt with Mules for bringing and carrying commodities to the Golfe for the Merchants, for he having lusty Mules, lusty slaves, would set the price or rate for the hundred weight so, as he might get, but others at that rate hiring *Indians* and servants to goe with their Mules, might lose. He was so cruell to his *Black-mores*, that if any were untoward, he would torment them almost to death; amongst whom he had one slave called *Macaca* (for whom I have often interceded, but to little purpose) whom he would often hang up by the armes, and whip him till the blood ran about his back, and then his flesh being torne, mangled, and all in a goar blood, he would for last cure powre boyling greafe upon it; he had marked him for a slave with burning irons upon his face, his hands, his armes, his back, his belly, his thighes, his legs, that the poor slave was weary of life, and I thinke would two or three times have hanged himselfe, if I had not counsell'd him to the contrary. He was so sensuall and carnall that he would use his own slaves wives at his pleasure; nay when he met in the City any of that kind handsome and to his liking, if he would not yeeld to his desire, he would goe to her master or mittresse, and buy her, offering far more then he was worth, boasting that he would pull downe her proud and haughty lookes, with one yeers slavery under him. He killed in my time two *Indians* in the way to the Golfe, and with his money came off, as if he had killed but a dog. He would never marry, because his slaves supplied the bed of a wife, and none of his neighbours durst say him nay; whereby he halted to fill that valley with bastards of all sorts and colours, by whom, when that rich miser dieth, all his wealth and treasure is like to be consumed.

Besides the two Townes which denominate this valley, there standeth at the East end of it close by the *Rio de los Vacas* an Ermitage, called *Nuestra Señora del Carmel*, or our Lady of *Carmel*, which is the Parish Church to all those severall farmes of *Spaniards* living in the valley; though true it is, most constantly they doe resort unto the *Indian* Townes to Masse, and in *Mixco* especially, the *Spaniards* have a rich sodality of our Lady of the Rosary, and the *Black-mores* another. In all the valley there may be between forty and fifty *Spanish* farmes or houses belonging to the Ermitage, and in all these houses, some three hundred slaves, men and women, *Black-mores* and *Mulatto's*. *Mixco* is a town of three hundred families, but in it nothing considerable, but the riches belonging unto the two forenamed Sodalties, and some rich *Indians*, who have learned of the *Spaniards* to break clods of earth, and to sow wheat, and to traffique with Mules unto the Golfe. Besides what fowles and great store of Turkeys which in this Towne are bred, there is a constant slaughter house, where meat is sold to the *Indians* within, and to the farmes without, and provision is made for all the *Requa's* and slaves that go to the Golfe with their masters Mules. Besides the six *Requa's* before named of *Juan Palomeque*, there are in this valley four brothers, named *Don Gaspar*, *Don Diego*, *Don Thomas*, *Don Juan de Colindres*, who have each of them a *Requa* of threescore Mules (though few slaves, and onely hired *Indians* to goe with them) to traffique to the Golfe, and over all the Country as far as *Mexico* sometimes. Yet besides these there are some six more *Requa's* belonging to other farms, which with those of the Towne of *Mixco* may make up full twenty *Requa's*; and those twenty *Requa's* containe above a thousand Mules, which only from this valley are employed to all parts of the Country by the rich Merchants of *Guatemala*. But to returne againe to the Towne of *Mixco*, the constant passage thorow it of these *Requa's*, of rich Merchants, of all passengers that goe and come from *Spain*, hath made it very rich; where-

as in the Town it self there is no other commodity, except it be a kind of earth, whereof are made rare and excellent pots for water, pans, pipkins, platters, dishes, chaufing-dishes, warming-pans, wherein those *Indians* shew much wit, and paint them with red, white, and severall mingled colours, and sell them to *Guatemala*, and the Towns about, which some *Criolians* women will eat by full mouth fulls, endangering their health and lives, so that by this earthly ware they may looke white and pale. The Towne of *Pinola* in bignesse is much like unto *Mixco*, but a far pleasanter Town, more healthy and better seated, standing upon a plain, whereas *Mixco* stands on the side on a hill, which carrieth the Travellers quite out of the sight of the valley. In *Pinola* there is also a slaughter house, where beef is daily sold, there is plenty of fowles, Fruits, Maiz, Wheat, (though not altogether so bright as that of *Mixco*) hony, and the best water thereabouts; it is called in the *Indian* tongue *Panac*, (some say) from a fruit of that name which is very abundant there. On the North and South side of this valley are hills, which are most sown with wheat, which proveth better there then in the low valley. At the West end of it, stand two greater Townes then *Mixco* and *Pinola*, named *Petapa*, and *Amatilan*, to the which there are in the midst of the valley some descents and ascents, which they call *Baranca's* or bottomes, where are pleasant streames and fountains, and good feeding for sheep, and Cattel.

Petapa is a Towne of at least five hundred inhabitants very rich, who suffer also some *Spaniards* to dwell amongst them, from whom also those *Indians* have learned to live and thrive in the world. This Towne is the passage from *Cemayagua*, *St. Salvador*, *Nicaragua*, and *Costa Rica*, and hath got great wealth by the constant goers and comers. It is esteemed one of the pleasantest Townes belonging unto *Guatemala*, for a great Lake of fresh water neer unto it, which is full of fish, especially crabs, and a fish called, *Mojarra*, which is much like unto a mullet (though not altogether so big) and eateth like it. In this Towne there is a certaine number of *Indians* appointed, who are to fish for the City, and on Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays, are bound to carry such a quantity to *Guatemala*, of Crabs and *Mojarra's*, as the *Corregidor* and *Regidores*, Major and Aldermen (who are but eight) shall command weekly to be brought.

This Towne *Petapa* is so called from two *Indian* words, *Petap*, which signifieth a Mat, and *ba*, which signifieth water, and a Mat being the chiefe part of an *Indians* bed, it is as much as to say a bed of water, from the smoothnesse, plainnesse, and calmnesse of the water of the Lake. There liveth in it a principall family of *Indians*, who are said to descend from the ancient Kings of those parts, and now by the *Spaniards* are graced with the noble name of *Guzman*; out of this family is chosen one to be Governour of the Towne with subordination unto the City and Chancery of *Guatemala*. *Don Bernabe de Guzman* was Governour in my time, and had been many yeers before, and governed very wisely and discreetly, till with old age he came to loose his sight; and in his place entred his son *Don Pedro de Guzman*, of whom the rest of the *Indians* stood in great awe, as formerly they had to his father. Had not these *Indians* been given to drunkennesse (as most *Indians* are) they might have governed a Town of *Spaniards*. This Governour hath many priviledges granted unto him (though none to weare a sword, or rapier, as may the Governour of *Chiapa* of the *Indians*) and appoints by turnes some of the Towne to wait and attend on him at dinner and supper, others to looke to his Horses, others to fish for him, others to bring him wood for his house spending, others to bring him meat for his Horses, and yet after all this his attendance, he attends and waits on the Frier that lives in the Towne, and doth nothing concerning the governing of the Towne and executing of justice, but what the Frier alloweth and adviseth to be done. There is also great service appointed for this Frier, of Fishermen, and other attendants in his house, who liveth as stately as any Bishop. Most trades belonging to a well settled Common-wealth are here exercised by these *Indians*. As for herbage, and garden-fruits, and requisites, it hath whatsoever may be found, or desired in the City of *Guatemala*. The Church treasure is very great, there being many Sodalities of our Lady and other their Saints, which are enriched with crowns, and chains, and bracelets, besides the lamps, censers, & silver candlesticks belonging unto the Altars. Upon *Michaels* day is the chief fair and feast of the Town, which is dedicated unto *St. Michael*, whither many Merchants resort from *Guatemala* to buy and sell; in the afternoon, and the next day following, Bull-baiting is the

common sport for that feast with some *Spaniards* and *Blackmores* on Horse-backe, and other *Indians* on foot, who commonly being drunke, some venture, some lose their lives in the sport. Besides this generall concourse of people every yeer at that time, there is every day at five a clock in the afternoone a Tianguex or market, upheld by the concourse of the *Indians* of the Town among themselves. Besides the lake, there runneth by this Town a river, which in places is easily waded over, and waters the fruits, gardens, and other plantations, and drives a mill which serves most of the valley to grind their wheat. Within a mile and a halfe of this Towne there is a rich Ingenio or farme of Sugar belonging to one *Sebastian de Savaletta*, a *Biscaine* borne, who came at first very poore into that Country, and served one of his Country men; but with his good industry and paines, he began to get a Mule or two to traffique with about the Country, till at last he increased his stocke to a whole Requa of Mules, and from thence grew so rich that he bought much land about *Petapa*, which he found to be very fit for Sugar, and from thence was encouraged to build a princely house, whither the best of *Guatemala* doe resort for their recreation. This man maketh a great deale of Sugar for the Country, and sends every yeer much to *Spaine*; he keepeth at least threecore slaves of his own for the worke of his farme, is very generous in house keeping, and is thought to be worth above five hundred thousand Duckats. Within halfe a mile from him there is another farme of Sugar, which is called but a *Tropicke* belonging unto the Augustin Friers of *Guatemala*, which keepe some twenty slaves, and is called a *Tropicke*, for that it grinds not the Sugar Cane with that device of the Ingenio, but grinds a lesse quantity, and so makes not so much Sugar as doth an Ingenio. From hence three miles is the Town of *Amatitlan*, neer unto which standeth a greater Ingenio of Sugar, then is that of *Savaletta*, and is called the Ingenio of one *Anis*, because he first founded it, but now it belongeth unto one *Pedro Crespo* the Post-master of *Guatemala*; this Ingenio seemeth to be a little Town by it selfe for the many cottages and thatched houses of *Blackmore* slaves which belong unto it, who may be above a hundred, men, women, and children. The chiefe dwelling house is strong and capacious, and able to entertain a hundred lodgers. These three farmes of Sugar standing so neer unto *Guatemala*, enrich the City much, and occasion great trading from it to *Spaine*. The Town of *Amatitlan*, though in it there live not so many *Spaniards* as in *Petapa*, yet there are in it more *Indian* families then in *Petapa*. The streets are more orderly made and framed like a Chequer board, they are wide, broad, plain, and all upon dust and sand. This Towne also enjoyeth the commodity of the lake, and furnisheth with fish the City of *Guatemala*, upon those daies before named of *Petapa*. And though it standeth out of the rode-way, yet it is almost as rich as *Petapa*. For the *Indians* of it get much by the concourse of common people, and the Gentry of *Guatemala*, who resort thither to certain bathes of hot waters, which are judged and approved very wholesome for the body. This Towne also getteth much by the salt which here is made, or rather gathered by the lake side, which every morning appeareth like a hoary frost upon the ground, and is taken up and purified by the *Indians*, and proves very white and good. Besides what they get by the salt, they get also by the Requa's of Mules in the valley, and about the Country, which are brought to feed upon that salt earth a day, or halfe a day, untill they be ready to burst (the owner paying six pence a day for every Mule) and it hath been found by experience, that this makes them thrive and grow lusty and purgeth them better then any drench, or blood-letting. They have further great trading in Cotton-wool, more abundance of fruits then *Petapa*, a fairer market place with two extraordinary great Elm-trees, under which the *Indians* daily meet at evening to buy and sell. The Church of this Towne is as faire and beautifull as any about *Guatemala*, the riches and state whereof hath caused the Dominican Friers since the yeer 1635, to make that place the head and Priory over the other Townes of the valley, and to build there a goodly and sumptuous Cloister, in which in my time there was (for I told then most of it, and doubtlesse since it hath much increased) eight thousand Duckats laid up in a chest, with three lockes for the common expences of the Cloister. Thus my Reader, I have led thee through the valley of *Mexco*, and *Pinola*, *Petapa* and *Amatitlan*, which in riches and wealth, what with the great trading in it, what with the sheep & cattell, what with the abundance of mules, what with three Farmes of Sugar, what with the great Farmes of Corn and Wheat, what with the churches treasures yeelds to no other place belonging unto the dominions

of *Guatemala*. I may not forget yet a double wheat harvest (as I may well term it) in this Vally. The first being of a little kinde of Wheat, which they call *Trigo Tremefino*, a word compounded in *Spanish* from these two words, *tres meses*, or from the Latin *trei menses* which after three months sowing is ripe and ready to be cut down, and being sowed about the end of *August*, is commonly harvelted in about the end of *November*, and although in the smalnesse of it, it seemes to have but a little Flower, yet it yeelds as much as their other sorts of Wheat, and makes as white bread, though it keep not so well as that which is made of other Wheat, but soone groweth stale and hard. The other harvest (which is of two sorts of Wheat, one called *Rubio*, or red Wheat, the other called *Blanquilleo*, or white like *Candia* Wheat) followeth soon after this first of *Tremefino*, for presently after Christmas every one begins to bring their sickles into the field, where they doe not onely reap down their Wheat, but in stead of threshing it in barnes, they cause it to bee trod by Mares inclosed within floores made on purpose in the fields; and when the Wheat is trod out of the Eares by the Mares trampling, who are whipped round about the floores that they may not stand still, but tread it constantly and throughly; then the Mares being let out of the floores, the wheat is winnowed from the chaffe, and put up clean into sackes, and from the field carried to the Barnes; but the chaffe and most of the straw is left to rot in the fields, which they esteeme as good as dunging; and further set all the fields on fire, burning the stubble that is left a little before the time of the first showers of raine, which with the ashes left after the burning fatteth the ground, and by them is held the best way to husband or dung their ground. Others that will sow a new and woody peece of land, cause the trees, though timber trees to bee cut down, and sell not a stick of that wood, (which there is so plentifull, that they judge it would not quit their cost to carry it to *Guatemala*, though in *England* it would yeeld thousand pounds) but they let it lie and dry, and before the winter raine begins, they set on fire all the field, and burn that rich timber, with the ashes whereof that ground becomes so fat and fertile, that where upon an Aker wee sow here three bushels of Wheat, or upwards, they sow such ground so thin, that they scarce dare venture a full bushell upon an Aker, lest with too much spreading upon the ground it grow too thick, bee lodged, and they loose their crop. The like they doe unto the pasture of the Valley; about the end of *March*, it is short and withered and dry, and they also set it on fire, which being burnt causeth a dismall light, and prospect of a black valley; but after the first two or three showres, it puts on againe its Greene and pleasant garment, inviting the Cattell, Sheep, Lambs, Goats, and Kids, (which for a while were driven away to other pasturing) to return and sport againe, to feed and rest in its new flourishing bosome. But now it is time, I return againe back to the other end of this valley, to the *Rio de las Vacas* (from whence I have viewed the compasse of it, and made my long digression from East to West, to the farthest Towne of *Amatilan*) to shew thee, my Reader, the little part of thy way remaining unto *Guatemala*. True it is, from the Ermitage of our Lady, there is a streight way through the middle of the valley leading almost to *Amatilan*, and then turning up a hill out of the valley on the right hand, but that hath many ascents and descents, bottomes, falls and risings, and therefore is not the constant Rode, which from the Ermitage pointeth on the right hand, observing the Towne of *Mixco*, standing but five miles from *Guatemala*, from *Mixco* the way lyeth up a hill, and leadeth to a Town somewhat bigger then *Mixco*, of Indians called *San Lucas*, or *St. Luke*, a cold Town, but exceeding rich, the temper and coldnesse of it, hath made it the storehouse, or Granary for all the City; for whereas below in the Valley, the Wheat will not keep long without musting, and breeding a worm called *Gurgojo*, such is the temper of this Town of *St. Luke*, that in it the Wheat will keep two or three yeeres ready threshed, with a little turning now and then; and as it lyeth will give and yeeld, (as experience taught mee there) so that he that hath laid up in that Town two hundred bushels of Wheat, at the yeeres end shall find neer upon two hundred and twenty bushels. This Towne therefore receives from the Valley most of the harvest, and is full of what wee call Barnes, but there are called *Trojas*, without floore, but raised up with stackes and bords a foot or two from the ground, and covered with mats, whereon is laid the Wheat, and by some rich Monopolists from the City is kept and hoarded two and three yeeres, untill they find their best opportunity to bring it out to sale, at the rate of their own will and pleasure. From hence to

Guatemala there is but three little leagues, and one onely *Barranca*, or bottom, and on every side of the way little petty Townes, which they call *Mispa*, consisting of some twenty Cottages. In the middle of the way is the top of a hill, which discovereth all the City, and standeth as overmastering of it, as if with a peece or two of Ordnance it would keepe all *Guatemala* in awe; But besides this hill, which is the wide and open Rode, there stand yet forwarder on the right and left hand other mountaines which draw neerer to the City, and what this top peradventure with too much distance, is not able to doe or reach, the others certainly would reach with Cannon shot, and command that farre commanding City. Downe this hill the way lies broad and wide, and as open as is the way downe *Barnet* or *Highbgate Hill*; and at the bottom it is more straitened betwene the Mountaines, for the space of a bowshot, which passage also is craggy by reason of stones and some small peeces of rocks which lie in a brook of water that descends from the Mountaines, and runs towards the City. But at a little *Ermitage* called *St. Iohn*, the way opens againe it selfe, and sheweth *Guatemala*, welcoming the weary travellers with a pleasant prospect, and easing theirs, or their mules or horses feet, what with green walkes, what with a sandy and gravelly Rode unto the City, which never shut gate against any goer or comer, nor forbade their entrance with any fenced walls, or watchmens jealous questions, but freely and gladly entertaines them either by the back side of the Dominicans Cloister, or by the Church and Nunnery called the Conception. And thus my Reader, and country man I have brought and guided thee from the Golfe unto *Guatemala*, shewing what that way is most remarkable. I shall not now shew thee any more of this Cities Dominions toward *Nicaragua* and the South (having already shewed thee the way as far as *Realtejo*) leaving that untill I come to tell thee of my journey homewards, which I made that way. There remains yet the Country of the *Vera Paz* and the way unto it to discover, and so to close up this Chapter. The *Vera Paz* is so called, for that the Indians of that Country hearing how the Spaniards had conquered *Guatemala*, and did conquer the Country round about, wherefoever they came, yielded themselves peaceably and without any resistance unto the Government of *Spain*. This Country formerly had a Bishop to it selfe distinct from *Guatemala*, but now is made one Bishoprick with that. It is governed by an *Alcalde Maior*, or high Justice sent from *Spain*, with subordination unto the Court of *Guatemala*. The head or shire Town of it, is called *Coban*, where is a Cloister of Dominican Friers, and the common place of Residence of the *Alcalde Maior*. All this Country as yet is not subdued by the Spaniards, who have now and then some strong encounters with the barbarous and heathen people, which lie betwene this Country and *Jucatan*; and saine would the Spaniards conquer them, that they might make way through them unto a Town called *Campin* belonging to *Jucatan*, and settle commerce, and Traffique by land with that Country, which is thought would bee a great furtherance to the Country and City of *Guatemala*, and a safer way to convey their goods to the *Havana*, then by the Golfe; for oftentimes the ships that goe from the Golfe to the *Havana*, are met with by the *Hollanders* and surpris'd. But as yet the Spaniards have not been able to bring to passe this their design, by reason they have found strong resistance from the heathenish people, and a hot service to attempt the conquering of them. Yet there was a Fryer a great acquaintance of mine, called Fryer *Francisco Moran*, who ventured his life among those barbarians, and with two or three Indians went on foot through that Country, untill he came unto *Campin*, where he found a few Spaniards, who wondred at his courage and boldnesse in comming that way. This Fryer came back again to *Coban* and *Vera Paz*, relating how the barbarians hearing him speake their language, and finding him kind, loving and courteous to them, used him also kindly, fearing (as hee said) that if they should kill him, the Spaniards would never let them bee at rest and quiet, untill they had utterly destroyed them. Hee related when he came back, that the Country which the Barbarians inhabite, is better then any part of the *Vera Paz*, which is subject to the Spaniards, and spoke much of a Valley, where is a great lake, and about it a Towne of Indians, which hee judg'd to bee of at least twelve thousand Inhabitants, the Cottages lying in a distance one from another. This Fryer hath writ of this Country, and hath gone to *Spain* to the Court to motion the conquering of it, for the profit and commodity that may ensue both to *Guatemala* and *Jucatan*, if a way were opened thither. But though as yet on that side the Spaniards and the Country

Country of the *Vera Paz*, bee fraighted by that heathenish people, yet on the other side it hath free passage unto the Golf, and tradethere when the ships doe come, carrying Fowles and what other Provision the Country will afford for the ships, and bringing from thence wines, and other *Spanish* wares unto *Coban*. This Country is very hilly and craggy, and though there bee some bigge Townes in it, they are not above three or foure that are considerable. The chief commodities, are *Achiote* which is the best of all the Country belonging to *Guatemala* and *Cacao*, Cotton Wooll, hony, *Cama fistula*, and *Zarzaparilla*, great store of *Maiz*, but no Wheat, much waxe, plenty of towles and birds of all coloured feathers, wherewith the *Indians* make some curious works, but not like unto those of *Mexico*; here are also abundance of Parrets, Apes and Monkeys which breed in the Mountaines. The way from *Guatemala* to this Country is that which hitherto hath beene spoken of from the Golf, as far as the Town of *St. Luke*; and from thence the way keeps on the hills and mountaines which lie on the side of the Valley of *Mixco*. These hills are called *Sacatepeques*, (compounded of *Sacate* and *Tepec*, the latter signifying a hill, and the former, herbe or grasse, and thus joyned, they signifie mountaines of grasse) and among them are these chief Townes, first *Santiago* or *St. James*, a Town of five hundred Families, secondly, *San Pedro* or *St. Peter*, consisting of six hundred families, thirdly, *St. Juan*, or *St. Iohn* consisting also of at least six hundred Families, and fourthly, *Sio Domingo Senano*, or *St. Dominic* of *Senaco*, being of three hundred Families. These foure Towns are very rich, and the two last very cold, the two first are warmer; there are about them many Farnes of corn and good Wheat, besides the *Indian Maiz*. These *Indians* are somewhat of more courage then those of other Townes, and in my time were like to rise up against the *Spaniards* for their unmercifull tyranny over them. The Churches are exceeding rich; in the Towne of *Santiago*, there was living in my time one *Indian*, who for onely vaine-glory had bestowed the worth of six thousand Duckates upon that Church, and yet afterwards this wretch was found to bee a Wizard and Idolater. These *Indians* get much mony by letting out great tusses of feathers, which the *Indians* use in their dances upon the feasts of the Dedication of their towns. For some of the great tusses may have at least three score long feathers of divers colours, for every feather hiring they have halfe a Riall, besides what price they set to every feather, if any should chance to be lost. From the Town of *St. Iohn*, which is the furthest the way lies plain and pleasant unto a little village of some twenty Cottages, called *St. Raymundo* or *St. Raymond*, from whence there is a good dayes journey up and down *Barrancas*, or bottoms unto a *Rancho*, or lodge standing by a River side, which is the same River, that passeth by the Town of *Acacabasilan* spoken of before. From this is an ascent or a very craggy and rocky Mountaine, called the Mountaine of *Rabinall*, where are steps cut out in the very Rocks for the mules feet, and slipping on one or the other side, they fall surely downe the rockes, breaking their neckes, and mangling all their limbes and joynts; but this danger continueth not long nor extendeth above a league and a half, and in the top and worst of this danger, there is the comfort of a goodly Valley, called *El Valle de San Nicholas*, *St. Nicholas* his Valley, from an *Estancia* called *St. Nicholas* belonging to the Dominicans Cloister of *Coban*. This Valley though it must not compare with that of *Mixco* and *Pinola*, yet next after it, it may well take place for onely three things considerable in it. The first is an *Ingenio* of Sugar, called *San Geronymo*, or *St. Hierome*, belonging unto the Dominicans Cloister of *Guatemala*, which indeed goeth beyond that spoken of of *Amatulan*, both for abundance of Sugar made there, and sent by mules to *Guatemala* over that rocky Mountaine, and for multitude of slaves living in it under the command of two Fryers, and for the excellent horses bred there, which are incomparably the best of all the Country of *Guatemala* for metle, and gallantry, and therefore (though mules are commonly used for burthens) are much desired and looked after by the Gallants and Gentry of the City, who make it a great part of their honour to prance about the streets. The second thing in this Valley is the *Estancia* or Farm of *St. Nicolas* which is as famous for breeding of mules, as is *St. Hierome* for horses. The third ornament to it is a Town of *Indians*, called *Rabinall*, of at least eight hundred Families, which hath all that heart can wish for pleasure and life of man. It inclineth rather to heat then cold, but the heat is moderate and much qualified with the many cool and shady walkes. There is not any *Indian* fruit, which is not there to be found, be-

sides the fruits of *Spain*, as Oranges, Lemmons, sweet and sowre, Citrons, Pomegranates, Grapes, Figs, Almonds, and Dates; the only want of wheat is not a want to them that mind bread of wheat more then of Maiz, for in two dayes it is easily brought from the Townes of *Sacatepeques*. For flesh, it hath Beef, Mutton, Kid, Fowles, Turkeys, Quailles, Partridges, Rabbits, Pheasants; and for fish, it hath a River running by the houses, which yeeldeth plenty both great and small. The *Indians* of this Towne are much like unto those of *Chiapa* of the *Indians*, for bravery, for feasting, for riding of horses, and shewing themselves in sports and pastimes. This Town my friend Fryer *Iohn Baptist*, after hee had been Prior of many places, and especially of *Chiapa* and *Guatemala*, chose to live in to enjoy quietnesse, pleasure and content; and in this Town was I feasted by him in such a sumptuous, prodigall and lavishing way, as truly might make poor mendicant Fryers ashamed to come so neer unto Princes in vanity of life and dyet. From this Valley unto the *Vera Paz*, or *Coban*, the head Town of it, there is nothing considerable, save only one Town more called *St. Christoval* or *St. Christopher*, which enjoyeth now a pleasant Lake, and bottomlesse, as is reported. Formerly there being no Lake at all, in a great Earthquake, the earth there opened, and swallowed up many houses, leaving this Lake which ever since hath continued. From hence to *Coban* the wayes are bad and mountainous, yet such as through the worst of them, those country mules with heavy burthens easily goe through. And thus with my pen, Reader, have I gone through most of the bounds and limits of *Guatemala*, which is more furnished with gallant Towns of *Indians*, then is any part of all *America*; and doubtlesse were the *Indians* warlike, industrious, active for warre or weapons, no part in all *America* might bee stronger in people then *Guatemala*. But they being kept under and oppressed by the *Spaniards*, and no weapons allowed them, not so much as their naturall Bowes and Arrows, much lesse Guns, Pistols, Muskets, Swords, or Pikes, their courage is gone, their affections alienated from the *Spaniards*, and so the *Spaniards* might very well feare, that if their country should be invaded, the multitude of their *Indian* people, would prove to them a multitude of enemies, either running away to another side; or forced to help, would bee to them but as the help of so many flies.

CHAP. XIX.

Shewing the condition, quality, fashion, and behaviour of the Indians of the Country of Guatemala since the Conquest, and especially of their feasts, and yearly Solemnities.

THE condition of the *Indians* of this Country of *Guatemala* is as sad, and as much to bee pitied as of any *Indians* in *America*, for that I may say it is with them in some sort, as it was with *Israel* in *Egypt*, of whom it is said, *Exod. 1. 7.* They were fruitfull and increased abundantly, and multiplied, and waxed exceeding mighty, and the land was filled with them, and therefore *Pharaoh* said unto his people, *Verf. 10.* Let us deale wisely with them, lest they multiply, and it come to passe, that when there falleth out any Warre, they joyne also unto our enemies, and fight against us. Therefore they did set over them taskmasters, to afflict them with their burdens, and they made their lives bitter with bondage, in mortar and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field; and all their service wherein they made them serve was with rigor. Though it is true, there ought not to be any comparison made betwixt the *Israelites* and the *Indians*, those being Gods people, these not as yet; never thelesse the comparison may well hold in the oppression of the one and the other, and in the manner and cause of the oppression, that being with bitternesse, rigour, and hard bondage, and lest they should multiply and increase too much. Certain it is, these *Indians* suffer great oppression from the *Spaniards*, live in great bitternesse, are under hard bondage, and serve with great rigor; and all this, because they are at least a thousand of them for one *Spaniard*, they daily multiply and increase, in children and wealth, and therefore are feared lest they should be too mighty, and either rise up of themselves, or joyn themselves to any enemy against their oppressors; for both which fears and jealousies, they are not allowed the use of any weapons or armes, no not their bows and arrows, which their ancestors formerly used; so that as hereby the *Spaniards* are secured from any hurt or annoyance from them as an unarmed

unarmed people; so may any other nation, that shall be encouraged to invade that land, be secure also from the *Indians*, & consequently the *Spaniards* own policy for themselves against the *Indians* may be their greatest ruine, and destruction, being a great people and yet no people; for the abundance of their *Indians* would be to them as no people; and they themselves, (who out of their few Towns and Cities live but here and there, too thinly scattered upon so great and capacious a land) would be but a handfull for any reasonable Army; and of that handfull very few would be found able or fitting men; and those able men would do little without the help of guns and ordnance; and if their own oppressed people, *Black-mores* and *Indians* (which themselves have alwaies feared) should side against them, soon would they be swallowed up both from within and from without. And by this it may easily appear how ungrounded they are, who say, it is harder to conquer *América* now then in *Cortez* his time, for that there are now both *Spaniards* and *Indians* to fight against, and then there were none but bare and naked *Indians*. This I say is a false ground; for then there were *Indians* trained up in wars one against another, who knew well to use their bows and arrows, and darts, and other weapons, and were desperate in their fights and single combats, as may appear out of the histories of them; but now they are cowardized, oppressed, unarmed, soon frightened with the noise of a musket, nay with a fowre and grim look of a *Spaniard*, so from them there is no fear; neither can there be from the *Spaniards*, who from all the vast dominions of *Guatemala* are not able to raise five thousand able fighting men, nor to defend so many passages as lie open in severall parts of that Country, which the wider and greater it is, might be advantageous to an enemy, and while the *Spaniard* in one place might oppose his strength, in many other places might his land be over-run by a foraine nation; nay by their owne slaves the *Black-mores*, who doubtlesse be set at liberty would side against them in any such occasion; and lastly, the *Criolians* who also are sore oppressed by them, would rejoyce in such a day, and yeeld rather to live with freedom and liberty under a foraine people, then to be longer oppressed by those of their own blood.

The miserable condition of the *Indians* of that Country is such, that though the Kings of *Spain* have never yielded to what some would have, that they should be slaves, yet their lives are as full of bitterness as is the life of a slave. For which I have known my selfe some of them that have come home from toying and moyling with *Spaniards*, after many blowes, some wounds, and little or no wages, who have suddenly and stubbornly lain down upon their beds, resolving to die rather then to live any longer a life so slavish, and have refused to take either meat or drinke, or any thing else comfortable and nourishing, which their wives have offered unto them, that so by pining and starving they might consume themselves. Some I have by good persuasions encouraged to life rather then to a voluntary and wilfull death; others there have been that would not be persuaded, but in that wilfull way have died. The *Spaniards* that live about that Country (especially the farmers of the valley of *Mexco*, *Panola*, *Petapa*, *Amatitan*, and those of the *Sacatepeques*) alledge that all their trading, and farming, is for the good of the Common-wealth, and therefore whereas there are not *Spaniards* enough for so ample and large a Country to doe all their work, and all are not able to buy slaves and *Black-mores*, they stand in need of the *Indians* help to serve them for their pay and hire; whereupon it hath been considered, that a partition of *Indian* labourers be made every Monday, or Sunday in the afternoon to the *Spaniards*, according to the farms they occupie, or according to their severall employments, calling, and trading with Mules, or any other way. So that for such and such a district there is named an officer, who is called *Juez Repartidor*, who according to a List made of every farme, house, and person, is to give so many *Indians* by the week. And here is a doore opened to the president of *Guatemala*, and to the Judges to provide well for their meniall servants, whom they commonly appoint for this office, which is thus performed by them. They name the Town and place of their meeting upon Sunday or Monday, to the which themselves and the *Spaniards* of that district do resort. The *Indians* of the severall Towns are to have in a readinesse so many labourers as the Court of *Guatemala* hath appointed to be weekly taken out of such a Towne, who are conducted by an *Indian* officer to the Towne of general meeting; and when they comethither with their tooles, their spades, shovels, bills, or axes, with their provision of victuals for a week (which are commonly some dry cakes of Maiz,

puddings

puddings of frixoles, or *French* beanes, and a little Chile or biting long pepper, or a bit of cold meat for the first day or two) and with beds on their backs (which is only a coarse woollen mantle to wrap about them when they lye on the bare ground) then are they shut up in the Towne-house, some with blowes, some with (spurnings, some with boxes on the eare, if presently they goe not in. Now all being gathered together, and the house filled with them, the Juez Repartidor or officer, calls by the order of the List such and such a *Spaniard*, and also calls out of the house so many *Indians* as by the Court are commanded to be given him (some are allowed three; some foure, some ten, some fifteen, some twenty, according to their employments) and delivereth unto the *Spaniard* his *Indians*, and so to all the rest, till they be all served; who when they receive their *Indians*, take from them a tooole, or their mantles; to secure them that they run not away; and for every *Indian* delivered unto them, they give unto the Juez Repartidor or officer, halfe a Riall, which is three pence an *Indian* for his fees, which mounteth yearly to him to a great deale of money; for some officers make a partition or ditribution of four hundred, some of two hundred, some of three hundred *Indians*, every week, and carrieth home with him so many halfe hundred Rials for one, or halfe a daies worke. If complaint be made by any *Spaniard* that such and such an *Indian* did run away from him, and served him not the week past, the *Indian* must be brought, and surely tied to a post by his hands in the Market place, and there be whipped upon his bare backe. But if the poore *Indian* complaine that the *Spaniards* coufened and cheated him of his shovell, axe, bill, mantle, or wages, no justice shall be executed against the cheating *Spaniard*, neither shall the *Indian* be righted, though it is true the order runs equally in favour of both *Indian* and *Spaniard*. Thus are the poore *Indians* sold for three pence a peece for a whole weeks slavery, not permitted to goe home at nights unto their wives, though their worke lie not above a mile from the Town where they live; nay some are carried ten or twelve miles from their home, who must not returne till Saturday night late, and must that week do whatsoever their Master pleaseth to command them. The wages appointed them will scarce find them meat and drinke, for they are not allowed a Riall a day, which is but sixpence, and with that they are to find themselves, but for six daies worke and diet they are to have five Rials, which is halfe a crowne. This same order is observed in the City of *Guatemala*, and Townes of *Spaniards*, where to every family that wants the service of an *Indian* or *Indians*, though it be but to fetch water and wood on their backs, or to goe of errands, is allowed the like service from the neereft *Indian* Townes. It would grieve a Christians heart to see how by some cruell *Spaniards* in that weeks service, those poor wretches are wronged and abused; some visiting their wives at home, whilst their poore husbands are digging and delving; others whipping them for their slow working, others wounding them with their swords, or breaking their heads for some reasonable and well grounded answer in their own behalfe, others stealing from them their tooles, others cheating them of halfe, others of all their wages, allcading that their service cost them halfe a Riall, and yet their worke not well performed. I knew some who made a common practice of this, when their wheat was sowne, and they had little to do for the *Indians*; yet they would have home as many as were due unto their farme, and on Monday and Tuesday would make them cut and bring them on their backs as much wood as they needed all that week, and then on Wednesday at noon (knowing the great desire of the *Indians* to goe home to their wives, for the which they would give any thing) would say unto them, What will you give me now, if I let you goe home to doe your own worke? whereunto the *Indians* would joyfully reply and answer, some that they would give a Riall, others two Rials, which they would take and send them home, and so would have much worke done, wood to serve their house a week, and mony as much as would buy them meat, and Cacao for Chocolate two weeks together; and thus from the poore *Indians* doe those unconscionable *Spaniards* practice a cheap and lazy way of living. Others will sell them away for that week unto a neighbour that hath present need of worke, demanding Rials a peece for every *Indian*, which he that buyeth them, will be sure to defray out of their wages. So likewise are they in a slavish bondage and readinesse for all passengers and travellers, who in any Towne may demand unto the next Towne as many *Indians* do goe with his Mules, or to carry on their backs a heavy burthen as he shall need, who at the journeys end will pick some quarrell with them, and so send them back

back with blowes and stripes without any pay at all. A Petaca, or leatherne Trunke, and chest of above a hundred weight, they will make those wretches to carry on their backs a whole day, nay some two or three daies together, which they doe by tying the chest on each side with ropes, having a broad leather in the middle, which they crosse over the forefront of their head, or over their forehead, hanging thus the waitgh upon their heads and browes, which at their journeys end hath made the blood stick in the foreheads of some, galling and pulling off the skin, and marking them in the fore-top of their heads, who as they are called *Tamemez*, so are easily known in a Towne by their baldnesse, that leather girt having worn off all their hair. With these hard usages, yet do those poor people make a shift to live amongst the *Spaniards*, but so that with anguish of heart they are still crying out to God for justice, and for liberty, whose only comfort is in their Priests and Friars, who many times doe quiet them when they would rise up in mutiny, and for their owne ends doe often prevaile over them with fair and cunning perswasions, to bear and suffer for Gods sake, and for the good of the Common-wealth that hard task and service which is laid upon them. And though in in all seasons, wet and dry, cold and hot, and in all wayes plain and mountainous, green and dirty, dully and stony, they must performe this hard service to their commanding Masters, their apparell and cloathing is but such as may cover the nakednesse of their body, nay in some it is such torne rags as will not cover halfe their nakednesse. Their ordinary cloathing is a paire of linnen or woollen drawers broad and open at the knees, without shooes (though in their journeys some will put on leatherne sandals to keep the soles of their feet) or stockins, without any doublet, a short course shirt, which reacheth a little below their waste, and serves more for a doublet then for a shirt, and for a cloake a woollen or linnen mantle, (called *Aiate*) tied with a knot over one shoulder, hanging down on the other side almost to the ground, with a twelve penny or two shilling hat, with after one good shower of raine like paper falls about their necks and eies; their bed they carry sometimes about them, which is that woollen mantle wherewith they wrap themselves about at night, taking off their shirt and drawers, which they lay under their head for a pillow; some will carry with them a short, slight, and light Mat to lie, but those that carry it not with them, if they cannot borrow one of a neighbour, lie as willingly in their mantle upon the bare ground, as a Gentleman in *England* upon a soft down-bed, and thus doe they soundly sleep, and lowdly snort after a daies worke, or after a daies journey with a hundred weight upon their backs. Those that are of the better sort; and richer, and who are not employed as *Tamemez* to carry burthens, or as Labourers to work for *Spaniards*, but keep at home following their own farmes, or following their owne Mules about the Country, or following their trades and callings in their shops, or governing the Townes, as *Alcaldes*, or *Alguaziles*, officers of justice, may goe a little better apparelled, but after the same manner. For some will have their drawers with a lace at the bottom, or wrought with some coloured Silke or Crewel; so likewise the mantle about them, shall have either a lace, or some work of birds on it, some will wear a cut linnen doublet, others shooes, but very few stockins or bands about their neckes; and for their beds, the best *Indian* Governour, or the richest, who may be worth four or five thousand Duckats, will have little more then the poor *Tamemez*; for they lie upon boards, or Canes bound together, and raised from the ground, whereon they lay a broad and handsome Mat, and at their heads for man and wife two little stumps of wood for bolsters, whereon they lay their shirts and mantles and other cloaths for pillows, covering themselves with a broader blanket then is their mantle, and thus hardly would *Don B. nabe de Guzman* the Governour of *Petapa* lie, and so doe all the best of them. The womens attire is cheap and soon put on; for most of them also go barefoot, the richer and better sort wear shooes, with broad ribbons for shooe-strings, and for a petticoate, they tie about their waste a woollen mantle; which in the better sort is wrought with divers colours, but not sowed at all, pleated or gathered in, but as they tie it with a list about them; they wear no shift next their body, but cover their nakednesse with a kind of surplice (which they call *Guaipil*) which hangs loose from their shoulders down a little below their waste; with open short sleeves, which cover halfe their armes; this *Guaipil* is curiously wrought, especially in the bottom, with Cotton, or feathers. The richer sort of them wear bracelets and bobs about their wrists and necks; their hair is gathered up with fillets, without any quaise

or covering, except it be the better sort. When they goe to Church or abroad, they put upon their heads a vaile of linnen, which hangeth almost to the ground, and this is that which costs them most of all their attire, for that commonly it is of *Holland* or some good linnen brought from *Spain*, or fine linnen brought from *China*, which the better sort wear with a lace about. When they are at home at work they commonly take off their Guapil, or surplice, discovering the nakednesse of their breasts and body. They lie also in their beds as doe their husbands, wrapped up only with a mantle, or with a blanket. Their houses are but poore thatched cottages, without any upper roomes, but commonly one or two only roomes below, in the one they dresse their meat in the middle of it, making a compasse for fire, with two or three stones, without any other chimney to convey the smoak away, which spreading it selfe about the the roome filleth the thatch and the rafters so with fur, that all the roome seemeth to be a chimney. The next unto it, is not free from smoak and blacknesse, where sometimes are four or five beds according to the family. The poorer sort have but one room, where they eat, dresse their meat, and sleep. Few there are that set any lockes upon their dores, for they fear no robbing nor stealing, neither have they in their houses much to lose, earthen pots, and pans, and dishes, and cups to drinke their Chocollatte, being the chief commodities in their house. There is scarce any house which hath not also in the yard a stew, wherein they bath themselves with hot water, which is their chief phylick when they feel themselves disordered. Among themselves they are in every Town divided into Tribes, which have one chief head, to whom all that belong unto that Tribe, doe resort in any difficult matters, who is bound to aid, protect, defend, counsell, and appear for the rest of his Tribe before the officers of justice in any wrong that is like to be done unto them. When any is to be married, the father of the son that is to take a wife out of another Tribe, goeth unto the head of his Tribe to give him warning of his sons marriage with such a maid. Then that head meets with the head of the maids Tribe, and they conferre about it. The businesse commonly is in debate a quarter of a year; all which time the parents of the youth or man are with gifts to buy the maid; they are to be at the charges of all that is spent in eating and drinking, when the heads of the two Tribes doe meet with the rest of the kindred of each side, who sometimes sit in conference a whole day, or most part of a night. After many dayes and nights thus spent, and a full trial being made of the one and other sides affection, if they chance to disagree about the marriage, then is the Tribe and parents of the maid to restore back all that the other side hath spent and given. They give no portions with their daughters, but when they die, their goods and lands are equally divided among their sons. If any one want a house to live in, or will repair and thatch his house anew, notice is given to the heads of the Tribes, who warn all the Town to come to help in the work, and every one is to bring a bundle of straw, and other materials, so that in one day with the helpe of many they finish a house, without any charges more then of Chocollatte, which they minster in great cups as big as will hold above a pint, not putting in any costly materials, as doe the *Spaniards*, but only a little Anniseed, and Chile, or *Indian* pepper; or else they halfe fill the cup with Attolle, and powre upon it as much Chocollatte as will fill the cup and colour it. In their diet the poorer sort are limited many times to a dish of Frixoles, or Turkey beanes, either black or white (which are there in very great abundance, and are kept dry for all the year) boyled with Chile; and if they can have this, they hold themselves well satisfied; with these beanes, they make also dumplings, first boyling the bean a litle, and then mingling it with a masse of Maiz, as we do mingle Currants in our cakes, and so boile again the frixoles with the dumplin of Maiz masse, and so eat it hot, or keep it cold; but this and all whatsoever else they eat, they either eat it with green biting Chile, or else they dip it in water and salt, wherein is bruised some of that Chile. But if their means will not reach to frixoles, their ordinary fare and diet is, their Tortilla's (so they call thin round cakes made of the dow and masse of Maiz) which they eat hot from an earthen pan, whereon they are soon baked with one turning over the fire; and these they eat alone either with Chile and salt, and dipping them in water and salt with a little bruised Chile. When their Maiz is green and tender, they boile some of those whole stalkes or clusters, whereon the Maiz groweth with the leaf about, and so casting a litle salt about it, they eat it. I have often eate of this, and found it as dainty as our young green pease, and very nourishing, but it much increa-

increaseth the blood. Also of this green and tender Maiz they make a *Furmity*, boiling the Maiz in some of the milke which they have first taken out of it by bruising it. The poorest *Indian* never wants this diet, and is well satisfied, as long as his belly is thoroughly filled. But the poorest that live in such Townes where flesh meat is sold, will make a hard shift, but that when they come from worke on Saturday night, they will buy one halfe Riall, or a Riall worth of fresh meat to eat on the Lords day. Some will buy a good deal at once, and keep it long by dressing it into *Tassajo's*, which are bundles of flesh, rowled up and tied fast, which they doe, when for examples sake they have from a leg of beefe sliced off from the bone all the flesh with the knife, after the length, forme, and thinnesse of a line, or rope. Then they take the flesh and salt it, (which being sliced and thinly cut, soon takes salt) and hang it up in their yards like a line from post to post, or from tree to tree, to the wind for a whole week, and then they hang it in the smoak another week, and after rowle it up in small bundles, which become as hard as a stone, and so as they need it, they wash it, boyl it and eat it. This is *America's* powdered beef, which they call *Tassajo*, whereof I have often eaten, and the *Spaniards* eat much of it, especially those that trade about the Countrey with Mules; nay this *Tassajo* is a great commodity, and hath made many a *Spaniard* rich, who carry a Mule or two laden with these *Tassajo's* in small parcels and bundles to those Townes where is no flesh at all sold, and there they exchange them for other commodities among the *Indians*, receiving peradventure for one *Tassajo* or bundle, (which cost them but the halfe part of a farthing) as much *Cacao*, as in other places they sell for a Riall or sixpence. The richer sort of people will fare better, for if there be fish or flesh to be had, they will have it, and eat most greedily of it, and will not spare their fowls and Turkeys from their own bellies. These also will now and then get a wild Dear, shooting it with their bows and arrows. And when they have killed it, they let it lie in the wood in some hole or bottom covered with leaves for the space of about a week, untill it stinke and begin to be full of wormes; then they bring it home, cut it out into joynts, and parboil it with an herbe which groweth there somewhat like unto our *Tanzy*, which they say sweeteneth it again, and maketh the flesh eat tender, and as white as a peice of Turkey. Thus parboiled, they hang up the joynts in the smoke for a while, and then boyle it again, when they eat it, which is commonly dressed with red *Indian* pepper; and this is the *Venison* of *America*, whereof I have sometimes eaten, and found it white and soft, but never durst be too bold with it, not that I found any evil taste in it, but that the apprehension of the wormes and maggots which formerly had been in it, troubled much my stomach. These *Indians* that have little to doe at home, and are not employed in the weekly service under the *Spaniards* in their hunting, will looke seriously for Hedge-hogs, which are just like unto ours, though certainly ours are not meat for any Christian. They are full of pricks and bristles like ours, and are found in woods and fields, living in holes, and as they say feed upon nothing but Amits and their eggs, and upon dry rotten sticks, herbes, and roots; of these they eat much, the flesh being as white and sweet as a Rabbit, and as fat as is a *January* hen kept up and fatted in a Coope. Of this meat I have also eaten, and confessed it is a dainty dish there, though I will not say the same of a Hedge-hog here, for what here may be payson, there may be good and lawfull meate, by some accidentall difference in the creature it selfe, and in that which it feeds upon, or in the temper of the air and climate. This meat not only the *Indians* but the best of the *Spaniards* feed on it, and it is so much esteemed of, that because in Lent they are commonly found, the *Spaniards* will not be deprived of it, but do eat it also then, alledging that it is no flesh (though in the eating it be in fatnesse and in taste, and in all like unto flesh) for that it feeds not upon any thing that is very nourishing, but chiefly upon Amits eggs, and dry sticks. It is a great point of controversie amongst their Divines, some hold it lawfull, others unlawfull for that time; it seems the pricks and bristles of the *Indian* Hedge-hog prick their consciences with a foolish scruple. Another kind of meat they feed much on which is called *Iguana*; of these some are found in the waters, others upon the land. They are longer then a Rabbit, and like unto a Scorpion, with some green, some black scales on their backs. Those upon the land will run very fast, like Lizards, and will climbe up trees like Squerrils, and breed in the roots of trees or in stone walls. The sight of them is enough to affright one; and yet when they are dressed and stewed in broth with a little spice, they make a dainty broth

broth, and eat also as white as a Rabbit, nay the middle bone is made juſt like the backe bone of a Rabbit. They are dangerous meat, if not thoroughly boiled, and they had almoſt coſt mee my life for eating too much of them, not being ſtewed enough. There are alſo many water and land Tortoi's, which the *Indians* find out for themſelves, and alſo reliſh exceeding well unto the *Spaniards* palate. As for drinking, the *Indians* generally are much given unto it; and drinke if they have nothing elſe, of their poore and ſimple Chocolate, without Sugar or many compounds, or of Atolle, untill their bellies bee ready to burſt. But if they can get any drink that will make them mad drunk, they will not give it over as long as a drop is left, or a penny remains in their purſe to purchaſe it. Among themſelves they uſe to make ſuch drinks as are in operation far ſtronger then wine, and theſe they confeſtion in ſuch great Jarres as come from *Spain*; wherein they put ſome little quantity of water, and fill up the Jar with ſome Melaffo's, or juyce of the Sugar Cane, or ſome hony for to ſweeten it, then for the ſtrengthening of it, they put roots and leaves of Tobaccho, with other kinde of roots which grow there, and they know to bee ſtrong in operation, nay in ſome places I have known where they have put in a live Toad, and ſo cloſed up the Jarre for a fortnight, or moneths ſpace, till all that they have put in him, be thoroughly ſteeped and the toad conſumed, and the drink well ſtrengthened, then they open it, and call their friends to the drinking of it, (which commonly they doe in the night time, leſt their Preſent in the Towne ſhould have notice of them in the day) which they never leave off, untill they bee mad, and raging drunke. This drink they call Chicha, which ſtinketh moſt filthily, and certainly is the cauſe of many *Indians* death, eſpecially where they uſe the toads poſſon with it. Once I was informed living in *Mexico*, of a great meeting that was appointed in an *Indians* houſe; and I took with mee the Officers of Juſtice of the Town, to ſearch that *Indians* houſe, where I found foure Jarres of Chicha not yet opened, I cauſed them to be taken out, and broken in the ſtreet before his doore, and the filthy Chicha to be poured out, which left ſuch a ſinking ſcent in my noſtrils, that with the ſmall ſmell or apprehenſion of its loathſomenelle, I fell to vomiting, and continued ſick almoſt a whole week after.

Now the *Spaniards* knowing this inclination of the *Indians* unto drunkenneſſe, doe herein much abuſe and wrong them; though true it is, there is a ſtrict order, even to the forfeiting of the wine of any one who ſhall preſume to ſell wine in a Towne of *Indians*, with a mony mulct beſides. Yet for all this the baſer and poorer fort of *Spaniards* for their lucre and gaine contemning authority, will goe out from *Guatemala*, to the Towns of *Indians* about, and carry ſuch wine to ſell and inebriate the Natives as may bee very advantageous to themſelves; for of one Jarre of wine, they will make two at leaſt, confeſtioning it with hony and water, and other ſtrong drugs which are cheap to them, and ſtrongly operative upon the poore and weak *Indians* heads, and this they will ſell for currant *Spaniſh* wine, with ſuch pint and quart meaſures, as never were allowed by Juſtice Order, but by themſelves invented. With ſuch wine they ſoone intoxicate the poore *Indians*, and when they have made them drunk, then they will cheat them more, making them pay double for their quart meaſure; and when they ſee they can drinke no more, then they will cauſe them to ly down and ſleep, and in the meane while will pick their pockets. This is a common ſinne among thoſe *Spaniards* of *Guatemala*, and much praſtised in the City upon the *Indians*, when they come thither to buy or ſell. Thoſe that keep the Bodegones (ſo are called the houſes that ſell wine, which are no better then a Chandlers ſhop, for beſides wine they ſell Candles, Fiſh, Salt, Cheefe and Bacon) will commonly intice in the *Indians*, and make them drunk, and then pick their pockets, and turne them out of doores with blowes and ſtripes, if they will not fairly depart. There was in *Guatemala* in my time one of theſe Bodegoners, or ſhopkeeper of wine and ſmall ware, named *Iean Ramor*, who by thus cheating and tipling poore *Indians* (as it was generally reported) was worth two hundred thouſand ducates, and in my time gave with a daughter that was married, eight thouſand Duckats. No *Indian* ſhould paſſe by his doore, but he would call him in, and play upon him as aforeſaid. In my time a *Spaniſh* Farmer, neighbour of mine in the Valley of *Mexico*, chanced to ſend to *Guatemala* his *Indian* ſervants with half a dozen mules loaden with wheat to a Merchant, with whom hee had agreed before for the price, and ordered the money to bee ſent unto him by his ſervant (whom hee had kept ſix yeers, and ever found him truſty) the wheat being delivered, and the money received (the which mounted to ten pound, ſixteen ſhillings, every mule carrying

rying six bushels, at twelve Rials a bushel, as was then the price) the *Indian* with another Mate of his walking along the streets to buy some small commodities, passed by *John Ramos* his shop, or Bodegon, who enticing him and his Mate in, soone tripped up their heels with a little confectioned wine for that purpose, and tooke away all his money from the intrusted *Indian*, and beat them out of his house; who thus drunk being forced to ride home, the *Indian* that had received the money, fell from his mule, and broke his neck; the other got home without his Mate, or money. The Farmer prosecuted *John Ramos* in the Court for his money, but *Ramos* being rich and abler to bribe, then the Farmer, got off very well, and so had done formerly in almost the like cases. These are but peccadillo's among those *Spaniards*, to make drunke, rob, and occasion the poor *Indians* death; whose death with them is no more regarded nor vindicated, then the death of a sheep or bullock, that falls into a pit. And thus having spoken of apparrell, houses, eating and drinking, it remains that I say somewhat of their civility, and Religion of those who lived under the Government of the *Spaniards*. From the *Spaniards* they have borrowed their Civill Government, and in all Townes they have one, or two *Alcaldes*, with more or lesse *Regidores*, (who are as Aldermen or Jurates amongst us) and some *Alguaziles*, more or lesse, who are as Constables, to execute the orders of the *Alcalde*, (who is a Maior) with his Brethren. In Towns of three or four hundred Families, or upwards, there are commonly two *Alcaldes*, six *Regidores*, two *Alguaziles* Maiors, and six under, or petty *Alguaziles*. And some Towns are privileged with an *Indian* Governour, who is above the *Alcaldes*, and all the rest of the Officers. These are changed every yeer by new election, and are chosen by the *Indians* themselves, who take their turnes by the tribes or kindreds, whereby they are divided. Their offices begin on New-Years day, and after that day their election is carryed to the City of *Guatemala* (if in that district it bee made) or else to the heads of Justice, or *Spanish* Governours of the severall Provinces, who confirm the new Election, and take account of the last yeers expences made by the other Officers, who carry with them their Town-Book of accounts; and therefore for this purpose every Town hath a Clerk, or Scrivener, called *Escrivano*, who commonly continueth many yeers in his office, by reason of the paucity and unfinesse of *Indian* Scriveners, who are able to beare such a charge. This Clerk hath many fees for his writings and informations, and accounts; as have the *Spaniards*, though not so much money or bribes, but a small matter, according to the poverty of the *Indians*. The Governour is also commonly continued many yeers, being some chief man among the *Indians*, except for his misdemeanours hee bee complained of, or the *Indians* in generall doe all stomach him.

Thus they being settled in a civill way of government, they may execute justice upon all such *Indians* of their Town as doe notoriously and scandalously offend. They may imprison, fine, whip, and banish, but hang and quarter they may not; but must remit such cases to the *Spanish* Governour. So likewise if a *Spaniard* passing by the Town, or living in it, doe trouble the peace, and misdemean himself, they may lay hold on him, and send him to the next *Spanish* Justice, with a full information of his offence, but fine him, or keep him about one night in prison they may not. This order they have against *Spaniards*, but they dare not execute it, for a whole Town standeth in awe of one *Spaniard*, and though hee never so hainously offend, and bee unruly, with oathes, threatnings, and drawing of his sword, hee maketh them quake and tremble, and not presume to touch him; for they know if they doe, they shall have the worst, either by blowes, or by some mis-information, which hee will give against them. And this hath been very often tried, for where *Indians* have by virtue of their order in-deavoured to curbe an unruly *Spaniard* in their Town, some of them have been wounded, others beaten, and when they have carried the *Spaniard* before a *Spanish* Justice and Governour, hee hath pleaded for what hee hath done, saying it was in his owne defence, or for his King and Sovereign, and that the *Indians* would have killed him, and began to mutiny all together against the *Spanish* Authority, and Government, denying to serve him with what hee needed for his way and journey; that they would not bee slaves to give him or any *Spaniard* any attendance; and that they would make an end of him, and of all the *Spaniards*. With these and such like false and lying mis-informations, the unruly *Spaniards* have often been beleevd, and too much upheld in their rude and uncivill misdemeanors, and the *Indians* bitterly curbed, and punished, and answer made them in such cases, that if they had been killed for their

mutiny

mutiny and rebellion against the King, and his best subjects they had been served well enough; and that if they gave not attendance unto the *Spaniard*, that passed by their Town, their houses should be fired, and they and their children utterly consumed. With such like answers from the Justices, and credency to what any base *Spaniard* shall inform against them, the poore *Indians* are faine to put up all wrongs done unto them, not daring to meddle with any *Spaniard*, bee hee never so unruly, by virtue of that Order, which they have against them. Amongst themselves, if any complaint be made against any *Indian*, they dare not meddle with him untill they call all his kindred; and especially the head of that Tribe, to which hee belongeth; who if hee and the rest together, find him to deserve imprisonment, or whipping, or any other punishment, then the Officers of Justice, the Alcaldes or Maiors, and their Brethren the Jurates inflict upon him that punishment; which all shall agree upon. But yet after judgement and sentence given, they have another, which is their last appeale, if they please, and that is to their Priest, and Fryer, who liveth in their Town, by whom they will sometimes be judged, and undergoe what punishment hee shall think fittest. To the Church therefore they often resort in points of Justice, thinking the Priest knoweth more of Law and equity, then themselves; who sometimes reverseth what judgement hath been given in the Town house, blaming the Officers for their partiality and passion against their poore Brother, and setting free the party judged by them; which the Priest does oftentimes, if such an *Indian* doe belong to the Church, or to the service of their house, or have any other relation to them, peradventure for their wives sake, whom either they affect, or employ in washing, or making their Chocolate. Such, and their husbands may live lawlesse as long as the Priest is in the Town. And if when the Priest is absent, they call them to triall for any misdemeanour, and whip, fine, or imprison, (which occasion they will sometimes pick out on purpose) when the Priest returnes, they shall bee sure to heare of it, and smart for it, yea, and the Officers themselves peradventure bee whipped in the Church, by the Preists order and appointment; against whom they dare not speake, but willingly accept what stripes and punishment hee layeth upon them, judging his wisdoms, sentence, and punishing hand, the wisdoms, sentence and hand of God; whom as they have been taught to be over all Princes, Judges, worldly Officers, so likewise they beleve, (and have been so taught) that his Preists and Ministers are above theirs, and all worldly power and authority. It happened unto mee living in the Town of *Mixco*, that an *Indian* being judged to bee whipped for some disorders, which hee committed, would not yeeld to the sentence, but appealed to mee, saying hee would have his stripes in the Church, and by my order, for so hee said his whipping would doe him good, as coming from the hand of God. When hee was brought unto mee, I could not reverse the *Indians* judgement, for it was just, and so caused him to be whipped, which hee tooke very patiently and merrily, and after kissed my hands and gave mee an offering of money for the good hee said, I had done unto his soule. Besides this civility of justice amongst them, they live as in other Civill and Politick and well governed Common-wealths; for in most of their Townes, there are some that professe such trades as are practised among *Spaniards*. There are amongst them Smiths, Taylors, Carpenters, Masons, Shoemakers, and the like. It was my fortune to set upon a hard and difficult building in a Church of *Mixco*, where I desired to make a very broad and capacious vault over the Chappell, which was the harder to bee finished in a round circumference, because it depended upon a triangle, yet for this work I sought none but *Indians*, some of the Town, some from other places, who made it so compleat, that the best & skilfullest workmen among the *Spaniards* had enough to wonder at it. So are most of their Churches vaulted on the top, and all by *Indians*; they onely in my time built a new Cloister in the Town of *Amatitan*, which they finished with many Arches of stone both in the lower walks and in the upper galleries, with as much perfection as the best Cloister of *Guatemala*, had before beene built by the *Spaniard*. Were they more encouraged by the *Spaniards*, and taught better principles both for soule and body, doubtlesse they would among themselves make a very good Common-wealth. For painting they are much inclined to it, and most of the pictures, and Altars of the Country Townes are their workmanship. In most of their Townes they have a Schoole, where they are taught to read, to sing, and some to write. To the Church there doe belong according as the Town is in bignesse, so many Singers, and Trumpeters, and Waits, over whom the Priest hath

one Officer, who is called *Fiscal*; he goeth with a white Staffe with a little Silver Crosse on the top to represent the Church, and shew that he is the Preists Clerk and Officer. When any case is brought to be examined by the Preist, this Fiscal or Clerk executeth Justice by the Preists Order. He must be one that can read & write, and is commonly the Master of Musick. He is bound upon the Lords Day and other Saints dayes, to gather to the Church before and after Service all the yong youths, and maids, and to teach them the Prayers, Sacraments, Commandements, and other pointes of Catechisme allowed by the Church of Rome. In the morning hee and the other Musicians at the sound of the Bell, are bound to come to Church to sing and officiate at Masse, which in many Townes they performe with Organs and other musicall Instruments, (as hath beene observed before) as well as *Spaniards*. So likewise at Evening at five of the clock they are again to resort to the Church, when the Bell calleth, to sing Prayers, which they call Completa's, or Complotory, with *Salve Regina*, a prayer to the Virgin Mary. This Fiscal is a great man in the Town, and beares more sway then the Majors, Jurates, and other Officers of Justice, and when the Preist is pleased, giveth attendance to him, goeth about his arrants, appointeth such as are to wait on him, when hee rideth out of Town. Both hee and all that doth belong unto the Church, are exempted from the common weekly service of the *Spaniards*, and from giving attendance to Travellers, and from other Officers of Justice. But they are to attend with their Waits, Trumpets, and Musick, upon any great man or Preist that cometh to their Town, and to make Arches with boughes and flowers in the streets for their entertainment. Besides these, those also that doe belong unto the service of the Preists house, are privileged from the *Spaniards* service. Now the Preist hath charge of servants by the week, who take their turnes so, that they may have a weeke or two to spare to doe their work. If it bee a great Town, hee hath three Cookes allowed him, (if a small Town, but two) men Cookes who change their turnes, except hee have any occasion of feasting, then they all come. So likewise hee hath two or three more (whom they call Chahal) as Butlers, who keepe whatsoever Provision is in the house under lock and Key, and give to the Cooke what the Preist appointeth to bee dressed for his dinner, or supper; these keepe the Table Clothes, Napkins, Dishes, and Trenchers, and lay the Cloth, and take away, and wait at the Table; hee hath besides three or foure, and in great Towns half a dozen of boyes to doe his arrants, wait at the Table, and sleep in the house all the week by their turnes, who with the Cookes and Butlers dine and sup constantly in the Preists house, and at his charges. Hee hath also at dinner and suppertimes the attendance of some old women (who also take their turnes) to oversee half a dozen yong maids, who next to the Preists house doe meet to make him, and his family Tortilla's or Cakes of Maiz, which the boyes doe bring hot to the Table by halfe a dozen at a time. Besides these servants, if hee have a Garden hee is allowed two or three gardeners; and for his stable, at least half a dozen *Indians*, whom morning and evening are to bring him Sacate (as there they call it) or herb and grasse for his Mules or Horses, these diet not in the house; but the groomes of the stable, who is to come at morning, noone, and Evening, (and therefore are three or foure to change) or at any time that the Preist will ride out; these I say and the Gardners (when they are at work) dine and sup at the Preists charges; who sometimes in great Townes hath above a dozen to feed and provide for. There are besides belonging to the Church privileged from the weekly attendance upon the *Spaniards* two or three *Indians*, called Sacristanes, who have care of the Vestry and Copes, and Altar Clothes, and every day make ready the Altar or Altars for Masse; also to every Company or Sodality of the Saints, or Virgin, there are two or three, whom they call Mayordomo's, who gather about the Towne Almes for the maintaining of the Sodality; these also gather Egges about the Town for the Preist every week, and give him an account of their gatherings, and allow him every moneth, or fortnight, two Crownes for a Masse to bee sung to the Saint.

If there be any fishing place neer the Town, then the Preist also is allowed for to seek him fish three or foure, and in some places half a dozen *Indians*, besides the offerings in the Church, and many other offerings which they bring whensoever they come to speak unto the Preist, or to confesse with him, or for a Saints feast to bee celebrated, and besides their Tithes of every thing, there is a monthly maintenance in money allowed unto the Preist, and brought unto him by the Alcaldes, or Majors, and Jurates,

which he setteth his hand unto in a book of the Townsexpences. This maintenance (though it be allowed by the *Spanish* magistrate, and paid in the Kings name for the preaching of the Gospel) yet it comes out of the poor *Indians* purses and labour, and is either gathered about the Town, or taken out of the Tribute, which they pay unto the King, or from a common plat of ground which with the help of all is sowed and gathered in and sold for that purpose. All the Townes in *America*, which are civilized and under the *Spanish* government, belong either to the Crowne, or to some other Lords, whom they call *Encomendero's*, and pay a yearly tribute unto them. Those that are tenants to their Lords or *Encomendero's* (who commonly are such as descend from the first conquerors) pay yet unto the King some small tribute in mony, besides what they pay in other kind of commodities unto their owne *Encomendero*, and in mony also. There is no Town so poor, where every married *Indian* doth not pay at the least in mony four Rials a yeer for tribute to the King, besides other four Rials to his Lord, or *Encomendero*. And if the Town pay only to the King, they pay at least six, and in some places eight Rials by statute, besides what other commodities are common to the Town or Country where they live, as Maiz, (that is paid in all Townes) hony, Turkeys, fowles, salt, Cacao, Mantles of Cotton-wool; and the like commodities they pay who are subiect to an *Encomendero*; but such pay only mony, not commodities to the King. The Mantles of tribute are much esteemed of, for they are choise ones, and of a bigger size, then others, so likewise is the tribute *Cacao*, *Achicotte*, *Cochinill*, where it is paid; for the best is set apart for the tribute; and if the *Indians* bring that which is not prime good, they shall surely be lashed, and sent backe for better. The heads of the severall Tribes have care to gather it, and to deliver it to the *Alcaldes* and *Regidores*, Maiors and Jurates, who carry it either to the Kings Exchequer in the City, or to the neereſt *Spanish* Justice (if it belong to the King) or to the Lord, or *Encomendero* of the Towne. In nothing I ever perceived the *Spaniards* mercifull and indulgent unto the *Indians*, but in this, that if an *Indian* bee very weak, poore, and sickly and not able to work, or threescore and ten yeers of age, he is freed from paying any tribute. There be also some Towns privileged from this tribute; which are those that can prove themselves to have descended from *Tlaxcallan*, or from certaine Tribes or families of or about *Mexico*, who helped the first *Spaniards* in the conquest of that Country. As for their carriage and behaviour, the *Indians* are very courteous and loving, and of a timorous nature, and willing to serve and to obey, and to doe good, if they be drawn by love; but where they are too much tyrannized, they are dogged, unwilling to please, or to worke, and will choose rather strangling and death then life. They are very trusty, and never were known to commit any robbery of importance; so that the *Spaniards* dare trust to abide with them in a wilderness all night, though they have bags of gold about them. So for secrecy they are very close; and will not reveal any thing against their own Natives, or a *Spaniards* credit and reputation, if they be any way affected to him. But above all unto their Preist they are very respective unto him; and when they come to speak unto him; put on their best clothes, study their complements and words to please him. They are very abundant in their expressions, and full of circumloquutions adorned with parables and simile's to expresse their mind and intention. I have often fate kill for the space of an houre, onely hearing some old women make their speeches unto me, with so many elegancies in their tongue (which in *English* would be non-sense, or barbarous expressions) as would make me wonder, and learne by their speeches more of their language, then by any other endeavour or study of mine owne. And if I could reply unto them in the like phrases and expressions (which I would often endeavour) I should be sure to win their hearts, and get any thing from them. As for their Religion, they are outwardly such as the *Spaniards*, but inwardly hard to beleieve that which is above sense, nature, and the visible sight of the eye; and many of them to this day doe incline to worship Idols of stocks and stones, and are given to much superstition, and to observe crosse waies, and meeting of beasts in them, the flying of birds, their appearing and singing near their houses at such and such times. Many are given to witchcraft, and are deluded by the devil to beleieve that their life dependeth upon the life of such and such a beast (which they take unto them as their familiar spirit) and think that when that beast dieth they must die; when he is chased, their hearts pant, when he is faint they are faint; nay it happeneth that by the devils delusion they appear in the shape

shape of that beast, (which commonly by their choice is a Buck, or Doe, a Lion, or Tigre, or Dog, or Eagle) and in that shape have been shot at and wounded, as I shall shew in the Chapter following. And for this reason (as I came to understand by some of them) they yeeld unto the Popish Religion, especially to the worshipping of Saints Images, because they looke upon them as much like unto their forefathers Idols, and secondly, because they see some of them painted with Beasts; as *Hierom* with a Lion, *Anthony* with an Asse, and other wild beasts, *Dominick* with a Dog, *Blas* with a Hog, *Mark* with a Bull, and *John* with an Eagle, they are more confirmed in their delusions, and thinke verily those Saints were of their opinion, and that those beasts were their familiar spirits, in whose shape they also were transformed when they lived, and with whom they died. All *Indians* are much affected unto these Popish Saints, but especially those which are given to witchcraft, and out of the finalnesse of their means they will be sure to buy some of these Saints and bring them to the Church, that there they may stand and be worshipped by them and others. The Churches are full of them; and they are placed upon standers gilded or painted, to be carried in procession upon mens shoulders, upon their proper day. And from hence cometh no little profit to the Preists; for upon such Saints daies, the owner of the Saint maketh a great feast in the Towne, and presenteth unto the Preist sometimes two or three, sometimes four or five crownes for his Masse and Sermon, besides a Turkey and three or four fowls, with as much Cacao as will serve to make him Chocolate for all the whole *Ottave* or eight daies following. So that in some Churches, where there are at least forty of these Saints Statues and Images, they bring unto the Preist at least forty pounds a year. The Preist therefore is very watchfull over those Saints daies, and sendeth warning before hand unto the *Indians* of the day of their Saint, that they may provide themselves for the better celebrating it both at home and in the Church. If they contribute not bountifully, then the Preist will chide, and threaten that he will not preach. Some *Indians* through poverty have been unwilling to contribute any thing at all, or to solemnize in the Church and at his house his Saints day, but then the Preist hath threatened to cast his Saints image out of the Church, saying, that the Church ought not to be filled with such Saints as are unprofitable to soul and body, and that in such a statues room one may stand, which may doe more good by occasioning a solemn celebration of one day more in the year. So likewise if the *Indian* that owed one of those images die and leave children, they are to take care of that Saint as part of their inheritance, and to provide that his day be kept; but if no son, or heirs be left, then the Preist calleth for the heads of the severall Tribes, and for the chief officers of justice, and maketh a speech unto them, wherein he declareth that part of the Church ground is taken up in vain by such an image, and his stander, without any profit either to the Preist the Church, or the town, no heir or owner being left alive to proceed for that orphan Saint, to owne it; and that in case they will not seek out who may take charge of him, and of his day, the Preist will not suffer him to stand idle in his Church, like those whom our Saviour in the Gospel rebuked, *quid hic stas tota die otiosi?* for that they stood idle in the market all the day (these very expressions have I heard there from some Friers) and therefore that he must banish such a Saints picture out of the Church, and must deliver him up before them into the Justices hands to be kept by them in the Town-house, untill such time as he may be bought and owned by some good Christian. The *Indians* when they hear these expressions, begin to feare, lest some judgement may befall their Town for suffering a Saint to be excommunicated and cast out of their Church; and therefore present unto the Preist some offering for his prayers unto the Saint, that he may doe them no harme, and desire him to limit them a time to bring him an answer for the disposing of that Saint (thinking it will prove a disparagement and affront unto their Town, if what once hath belonged to the Church, be now out, and delivered up to the secular power) and that in the mean time, they will find out some good Christian, either of the neerest friends and kindred to him or them who first owned the Saint, or else some stranger, who may buy that Saint of the Preist (if he continue in the Church) or of the secular power (if he be cast out of the Church and delivered up unto them, which they are unwilling to yeeld to, having been taught of judgements in such a case like to befall them) and may by some speedy feast and solemnity appease the Saints anger towards them, for having been so slighted by the Town. Alas poore *Indians*, what will they not be brought unto by those

Friers and Preists, who study nothing more than their own ends, and to enrich themselves from the Church and Altar! their policies (who are the wife and prudent children of this world spoken of in the Gospel) can easily overtop and master the simplicity of the poor *Indians*; who rather than they will bring an affront upon their Towne, by suffering any of their Saints to be cast out of their Church, or to be with mony redeemed out of the secular powers hands, will make hast to present unto him an owner of that orphan Saint, who for him shall give to the Preist not only what he may be prized to be worth in a Painters shop for the workmanship, gold and colours belonging to him; but besides shall present him what before hath been observed, for the solemnizing of his feast. These feasts bring yet unto the Saints more profit then hitherto hath been spoken of; for the *Indians* have been taught that upon such daies they ought to offer up somewhat unto the Saints; and therefore they prepare either mony (some a Riall, some two, some more) or else commonly about *Guatemala* white wax-candles, and in other places Cacao, or fruits, which they lay before the image of the Saint, whilst the Masse is celebrating. Some *Indians* will bring a bundle of candles of a dozen tied together of Rials a peice some, some of three or four for a Riall, and will if they be let alone light them all together and burne them out, so that the Preist at the end of the Masse will find nothing but the ends. Therefore (knowing well of the waies of policy and covetousnesse) he chargeeth the Church officers, whom I said before were called *Mayordoms* to looke to the offerings, and not to suffer the *Indians* who bring candles to light more then one before the Saint, and to leave the other before him unlighted (having formerly taught them, that the Saints are as well pleased with their whole candles as with their burnt candles) that so hee may have the more to sell and make mony of. After Masse the Preist and the *Mayordoms* take and sweep away from the Saint whatsoever they find hath been offered unto him; so that sometimes in a great Towne upon such a Saints day the Preist may have in mony twelve or twenty Rials, and fifty or a hundred candles, which may be worth unto him twenty or thirty shillings, besides some ends and peices. Most of the Friers about *Guatemala* are with these offerings as well stored with candles, as is any Wax-chandlers shop in the City. And the same candles, which thus they have received by offerings they need not care to sell them away to *Spaniards*, who come about to by them (though some will rather sell them together to such though cheaper, that their mony might come in all at once) for the *Indians* themselves when they want again any candles for the like feast, or for a Christening, and for a womans Churchling (at which times they also offer candles) will buy their own againe of the Preist, who sometimes receiveth the same candles and mony for them again five or six times. And because they find that the *Indians* incline very much to this kind of offerings, and that they are so profitable unto them, the Friers doe much presse upon the *Indians* in their preaching this point of their Religion, and devotion. But if you demand of these ignorant, but zealous offerers the *Indians* an account of any point of faith, they will give you little or none. The mystery of the Trinity, and of the incarnation of Christ, and our redemption by him is too hard for them; they will only answer what they have been taught in a Catechisme of questions and answers; but if you ask them if they beleeve such a point of Christianity, they will never answer affirmatively, but only thus, Perhaps it may be so. They are taught there the doctrine of *Rome*, that Christs body is truly and really present in the Sacrament, and no bread in substance, but only the accidents, if the wisest *Indian* be asked, whether he beleeve this, he will answer, Perhaps it may be so. Once an old woman, who was held to be very religious, in the Town of *Mixco*, came to me about receiving the Sacrament, and whilst I was instructing of her, I asked her if she beleeved that Christ body was in the Sacrament, she answered, Peradventure it may be so. A little while after to try her and get her out of this strain and common answer, I asked her what & who was in the Sacrament which she received from the Preists hand at the Altar, she answered nothing for a while, and at last I pressed upon her for an affirmative answer; and then she began to looke about to the Saints in the Church, (which was dedicated to a Saint which they call *St. Dominick*) and, as it seemed, being troubled and doubtful what to say, at last she cast her eyes upon the high Altar, but I seeing she delayed the time, asked her again who was in the Sacrament? to which she replied *S. Dominick* who was the Patron of that Church and Town. At this I smiled, and would yet further try her simplicity with a simple question. I told her she saw *S. Dominick*

was painted with a dog by him holding a torch in his mouth, and the globe of the world at his feet; I asked her, whether all this were with *St. Dominick* in the Sacrament? To which she answered, Perhaps it might be so; wherewith I began to chide her, and to instruct her. But mine instruction, nor all the teaching and preaching of those *Spanish* Priests hath not yet well grounded them in principles of faith; they are dull and heave to believe or apprehend of God, or of heaven, more then with sense or reason they can conceive. Yet they goe and run that way they see the *Spaniards* run, and as they are taught by their idolatrous Priests. Who have taught them much formality, and so they are (as our Formalists formerly in *England*) very formall, but little substantiall in Religion. They have been taught that when they come to confession, they must offer somewhat to the Priest, and that by their gifts and almes, their sins shall be sooner forgiven; this they doe so formally observe, that, whensoever they come to confession, but especially in Lent, none of them dareth to come with empty hands; some bring mony, some honey, some eggs, some fowls, some fish, some Cacao, some one thing, some another, so that the Priest hath a plentifull harvest in Lent for his pains in hearing their Confessions. They have been taught that also when they receive the Communion, they must surely every one give at least a Riall to the Priest, (surely *England* was never taught in *America* to buy the Sacrament with a two pence offering, and yet this custome too much practised and pressed upon the people) which they performe so, that I have known some poor *Indians*, who have for a week or two forborne from coming to the Communion untill they could get a Riall offering. It is to be wondred what the Priests doe get from those poore wretches in great Towns by Confession and Communion Rials in great Townes, where they denie the Sacrament to none that will receive it; (and in some Townes I have knowne a thousand Communicants) and force all above twelve or thirteen yeers of age to come to Confession in the Lent. They are very formall also in observing *Romes* Monday, Thursday, and good-Friday, and then they make their monuments and sepulchres, wherein they set their Sacrament, and watch it all day and night, placing before it a Crucifix on the ground, with two basins on each side to hold the single or double Rials, which every one must offer when he cometh creeping upon his knees, and bare-footed to kisse Christs hands, feet, and side. The candles which for that day and night and next morning are burned at the sepulchre are bought with another Contribution-Riall, which is gathered from house to house from every *Indian* for that purpose. Their Religion is a dear and lick-penny religion for such poor *Indians*, and yet they are carried along in it formally and perceive it not. They are taught that they must remember the soules in Purgatory, and therefore that they must cast their almes into a chest, which standeth for that purpose in their Churches, whereof the Priest keepeth the key, and openeth it when he wanteth mony, or when he pleaseth. I have often opened some of those chests; and have found in them many single Rials, some halfe pieces of eight, and some whole pieces of eight. And because what is lost and found in the high-waies, must belong to some body, if the true owner be not knowne, they have been taught that such monies or goods belong also to the soules departed; wherefore the *Indians* (surely more for fear or vanities sake that they may be well thought on by the Priest) if they find any thing lost will bestow it upon the soules surer then the *Spaniards* themselves (who if they find a purse lost will keep it,) and will bring it either to the Priest or cast it into the chest. An *Indian* of *Mixco* had found a patacon or peece of eight in a high-way, and when he came to Confession, he gave it unto me telling me he durst not keep it, lest the soules should appear unto him, and demand it. So upon the second day of *November* which they call All soules day; they are extraordinary foolish and superstitious in offering monies, fowles, eggs and Maiz, and other commodities for the soules good, but it proves for the profit of the Priest, who after Masse wipes away to his chamber all that which the poore gulled and deluded *Indians* had offered unto those soules, which needed neither mony, food, nor any other provision, and he fills his purse, and pampers his belly with it. A Frier that lived in *Petapa* boasted unto me once that upon their All Soules day, his offerings had been about a hundred Rials, two hundred Chickens and fowls, half a dozen Turkeyes, eight bushells of Maiz, three hundred eggs, four sontles of Cacao, (every sontle being four hundred granes) twenty clusters of plantins, above a hundred wax-candles, besides some loaves of bread, and other trifles of fruits. All which being summed up according to

to the price of the things there, and with consideration of the coyn of mony there (halfe a Ryall, or three pence being there the least coyn) mounts to above eight pounds of our money, a faire and goodly stipend for a Masse, brave wages for halfe an houres work; a polittick ground for that Error of Purgatory, if the dead bring to the living Preist such wealth in one day onely. Christmas day with the rest of those holy daies is no lesse superstitiously observed by these *Indians*; for against that time they frame and set in some corner of their Church a little thatched house like a stall, which they call *Bethlehem*, with a blazing Starre over, pointing it unto the three Sage wife men from the East; within this stall they lay in a Crib, a child made of wood, painted and gilded (who represents Christ new borne unto them) by him stands *Mary* on the one side, and *Joseph* on the other, and an Ass likewise on the one side and an oxe on the other, made by hands, the three wise men of the East kneel before the Crib offering gold, Frankincense and Myrrhe, the shepheards stand aloof off offering their Country gifts, some a Kid, some a Lambe, some Milk, some Cheefe, and Cards, some fruits, the fields are also there represented with flocks of Sheep and Goats; the Angels they hang about the stall some with Vials, some with Lutes, some with Harps, a goodly mumming and silent stage play, to draw those simple souls to look about, and to delight their senses and fantasies in the Church.

There is not an *Indian* that cometh to see that supposed *Bethlehem*, (and there is not any in the Town but doth come to see it) who bringeth not either money or somewhat else for his offering. Nay the policy of the Preists hath been such, that (to stirre up the *Indians* with their Saints example) they have taught them to bring their Saints upon all the holy dayes, untill Twelfth day in Procession unto this *Bethlehem* to offer their gifts, according to the number of the Saints that stand in the Church, some daies there come five, some daies eight, some daies ten, dividing them into such order, that by Twelfth day all may have come and offered, some money, some one thing, some another; The owner of the Saint, hee cometh before the Saint with his friends and kindred (if there bee no sodality or company belonging unto that Saint) and being very well apparelled for that purpose, he bowes himselfe and kneels to the Crib, and then rising takes from the Saint what hee bringeth and leaveth it there, and so departs. But if there be a sodality belonging to the Saint, then the Mayordomo's or chief Officers of that company they come before the Saint, and doe homage, and offer as before hath been said. But upon Twelfth day the Alcaldes, Maiors, Jurates, and other Officers of Justice, must offer after the example of the Saints, and the three Wife men of the East (whom the Church of *Rome* teacheth to have been Kings) because they represent the Kings power and authority. And all these daies they have about the Town and in the Church a dance of Shepheards, who at Christmas Eve at midnight begin before this *Bethlehem*, and then they must offer a Sheep amongst them. Others dance clothed like Angels and with wings, and all to draw the people more to see sights in the Church, then to worship God in Spirit and in Truth. Candlemas day is no lesse superstitiously observed; for then the picture of *Mary* comes in procession to the Altar, and offereth up her Candles and Pigeons, or Turtle-Doves unto the Preist, and all the Town must imitate her example, and bring their Candles to be blessed and hallowed; of foure or five, or as many as they bring, one onely shall bee restored back unto them, because they are blessed, all the rest are for the Preist, to whom the *Indians* resort after to buy them, and give more then ordinary, because they are hallowed Candles. At Whitsonde they have another sight, and that is in the Church also, whilst a Hymne is sung of the Holy Ghost, the Preist standing before the Altar with his face turned to the people, they have a device to let fall a Dove from above over his head well dressed with flowers, and for above half an houre, from holes made for that purpose, they drop down flowers about the Preist shewing the gifts of the holy Ghost to him, which example the ignorant and simple *Indians* are willing to imitate, offering also their gifts unto him. Thus all the year are those Preists and Fryers deluding the poore people for their ends, enriching themselves with their gifts, placing Religion in meer Policy; and thus doth the *Indians* Religion consist more in sights, shewes and formalities, then in any true substance. But as sweet meat must have sowe sance; so this sweetnesse and pleasing delight of shewes in the Church hath its sowe sance once a year (besides the sowrenesse of poverty which followeth to them by giving so many gifts unto the Preist) for, to shew that in their Religion there is some bitterness, & sowrenesse, they

they make the *Indians* whip themselves the weeke before Easter, like the *Spaniards*, which those simples both men and women perform with such cruelty to their owne flesh, that they butcher it, mangle and teare their backs, till some swound, nay some (as I have known) have died under their own whipping, and have selfe murdered themselves, which the *Preists* regard not, because their death is sure to bring them at least three or foure Crownes for a Masse for their soules, and other offerings of their friends.

Thus in Religion they are superstitiously led on, and blinded in the observance of what they have been taught for the good and profit of their *Preists*, then for any good of their soules, not perceiving that their Religion is a Policy to enrich their teachers. But not onely doe the *Fryers* and *Preists* live by them and eat the sweat of their browes; but also all the *Spaniards*, who not onely with their worke and service (being themselves many given to idlenesse) grow wealthy and rich; but with needlesse offices, and authority are still fleecing them, and taking from them that little which they gaine with much hardnesse and severity.

The President of *Guatemala*, the Judges of that Chancery, the Governours and High Justices of other parts of the Country, that they may advance and enrich their menial servants, make the poor *Indians* the subject of their bountifullnesse towards such. Some have offices to visit as often as they please their Townes, and to see what every *Indian* hath sowed of Maiz, for the maintenance of his wife and children; Others visit them to see what fowles they keepe for the good and store of the County; others have order to see whether their houses bee decently kept and their beds orderly placed according to their Families; others have power to call them out to mend and repaire the high wayes, and others have Commission to number the Families and Inhabitants of the severall Townes, to see how they increase that their Tribute may not decrease, but still bee raised. And all this, those officers doe never perform but so, that for their pains they must have from every *Indian* an allowance to bear their charges, (which indeed are none at all) for as long as they stay in the Town, they may call for what fowles and provision they please without paying for it. When they come to number the Townes, they call by list every *Indian* and cause his children, sonnes and daughters to be brought before them, to see if they bee fit to be married; and if they be of growth and age, and bee not married, the fathers are threatned for keeping them unmarried, and as idle lives the Towne without paying tribute; and according to the number of the sonnes and daughters that are marriageable, the fathers tribute is raised and increased, untill they provide husbands and wives for their sons and daughters, who as soone as they are married, are charged with tribute; which that it may increase, they will suffer none above fifteen yeeres of age to live unmarried; Nay the set time of age of marriage appointed for the *Indians*, is at fourteen yeeres for the man, and thirteene for the woman, alledging that they are sooner ripe for the fruit of Wedlock, and sooner ripe in knowledge and malice, and strength for worke and service, then are any other people. Nay sometimes they force them to marry who are scarce twelve and thirteene yeeres of age, if they find them well limbed, and strong in body, explicating a point of one of *Romes* Canons, which alloweth foureteene and fifteen yeeres, *nisi maritum supplicet etatem*. When I my selfe lived in *Pinola*, that Town by order of *Don Juan de Guzman*, a great Gentleman of *Guatemala*, to whom it belonged) was numbred, and an increase of tributary *Indians* was added unto it by this meanes. The numbring it lasted a full weeke, and in that space I was commanded to joine in marriage neer twenty couple, which, with those that before had been married since the last numbring of it, made up to the Encomendero or Lord of it an increase of about fifty Families. But it was a shame to see how young some were that at that time were forced to marriage, neither could al my striving and reasoning prevail to the contrary, nor the producing of the Register Book to shew their age, but that some were married of between twelve and thirteene yeeres of age, and one especially who in the Register booke was found to bee not fully of twelve yeeres, whose knowledge and strength of body was judged to supply the want of age. In this manner even in the most free act of the will, (which ought to bee in marriage) are those poore *Indians*, forced and made slaves by the *Spaniards*, to supply with tribute the want of their purses, and the meannesse of their Estates. Yet under this yoke and burden they are cheerfull, and much given to feasting, sporting and dancing, as they particularly shew in the chief feasts of their Townes, which are kept upon

upon that Saints day to whom their Town is dedicated. And certainly this superstition hath continued also in *England* from the Popish times, to keep Faires in many of our Towns upon Saints dayes (which is the intent of the Papists to draw in the people and country by way of commerce and trading one with another, to honor, worship, and pray to that Saint, to whom the Town is dedicated) or else why are our Faires commonly kept upon *John Baptist, James, Peter, Mattheu, Bartholomew, Holy Rood, Lady* dayes, and the like, and not as well a day, or two before, or a day or two after, which would bee as good and fit dayes to buy and sell, as the other? True it is, our Reformation alloweth not the worshipping of Saints, yet that solemne meeting of the people to Fairs and mirth, and sport upon those daies it hath kept and continued, that so the Saints and their dayes may bee and continue still in our remembrance. There is no Town in the *Indias* great or small (though it be but of twenty Families) which is not dedicated thus unto our Lady or unto some Saint, and the remembrance of that Saint is continued in the mindes not onely of them that live in the Towne, but of all that live farre and neere by commercing, trading, sporting, and dancing, offering unto the Saint, and bowing, kneeling, and praying before him. Before this day cometh, the *Indians* of the Town two or three Moneths have their meetings at night, and prepare themselves for such dances as are most commonly used amongst them; and in these their meetings they drinke much both of Chocolate and Chicha. For every kind of dance they have severall houses appointed, and masters of that dance, who teach the rest that they may bee perfected in it against the Saints day. For the most part of these two or three moneths the silence of the night is unquieted, what with their singing, what with their hollowing, what with their beating upon the shels of shes, what with their Waits, and what with their piping. And when the feast cometh, then they ast publickly, and for the space of eight dayes, what privately they had practised before. They are that day well apparelled with silkes, fine linnen, ribbands and feathers according to the dance, which first they begin in the Church before the Saint, or in the Church yard, and from thence all the *Ottave*, or eight dayes they goe from house to house dancing, where they have Chocolate or some heady drink or Chicha given them. All those eight daies the Towne is sure to bee full of drunkards; and if they bee reprehended for it, they will answer, that their heart doth rejoyce with their Saint in heaven, and that they must drinke unto him, that hee may remember them. The chief dance used amongst them is called *Toncontin*, which hath been danced before the King of *Spain*, in the Court of *Madrid* by *Spaniards*, who have lived in the *Indias* to shew unto the King somewhat of the *Indians* fashions; and it was reported to have pleased the King very much. This dance is thus performed. The *Indians* commonly that dance it (if it bee a great Towne) are thirty or forty, or fewer, if it be a small Town. They are clothed in white, both their dublets, linnen drawers, and Aiates, or towells, which on the one side hang almost to the ground. Their drawers and Aiates are wrought with some workes of Silk, or with birds, or bordered with some Lace. Others procure dublets and drawers and Aiates of Silk, all which are hired for that purpose. On their backs they hang long tusses of feathers of all colours, which with glew are fastned into a little frame made for the purpose, and guilded on the outside; this frame with Ribbands they tie about their shoulders fast that it fall not, nor slacken with the motion of their bodies. Upon their heads they wear another lesse tuffe of Feathers either in their hats, or in some guilded or painted head-peece, or helmet. In their hands also they carry a fan of feathers, and on their feet most will use feathers also bound together like short wings of birds; some wear shooes, some not. And thus from top to toe they are almost covered with curious and coloured feathers. Their Musick and tune to this dance is onely what is made with a hollow stock of a tree, being rounded, and well pared within and without, very smooth and shining, some foure times thicker then our viols, with two or three long clefts on the upper side and some holes at the end which they call *Tepanabaz*. On this stock (which is placed upon a stool or fourm in the middle of the *Indians*) the Master of the dance beates with two sticks, covered with wooll at the ends, and a pitched leather over the wooll that it fall not away. With this Instrument and blowes upon it (which soundeth but dull and heavy, but somewhat loud) hee giveth the dancers their severall tunes, and changes, and signes of the motion of their bodies either straight or bowing, and giveth them warning what and when they are to sing. Thus they dance in compasse and circle

circle round about that instrument, one following another sometimes straight, sometimes turning about, sometimes turning half way, sometimes bending their bodies and with the feathers in their hands almost touching the ground, and singing the life of that their Saint, or of some other. All this dancing is but a kind of walking round, which they will continue two or three whole houres together in one place, and from thence goe and perform the same at another house.

This Toncontin the chief and principall onely of the Towne doe dance it; It was the old dance which they used before they knew Chritianity, except that then in stead of singing the Saints lives, they did sing the praises of their heathenish Gods. They have another dance much used, which is a kind of hunting out some wild Beast (which formerly in time of Heathenisme was to bee sacrificed to their Gods) to bee offered up unto the Saint. This dance hath much variety of tunes, with a small Tepanabaz, and many shels of Tortois, or in stead of them with pots covered with leather, on which they strike as on Tepanabaz, and with the sound of pipes; in this dance they use much hollowing and noise and calling one unto another, and speaking by way of Stage play, some relating one thing, some another concerning the Beast they hunt after; These dancers are all clothed like Beasts, with painted skins of Lions, Tigers, Wolves, and on their heads such headpieces as may represent the head of such Beasts, and other wear painted heads of Eagles or Fowles of rapine, and in their hands they have painted Staves, Bills, Swords and Axes, wherewith they threaten to kill that Beast they hunt after. Others in stead of hunting after a Beast, hunt after a man, as Beasts in a wilderness should hunt a man to kill him. This man that is thus hunted after must bee very nimble and agil, as one flying for his life, and striking here and there at the Beasts for his defence, whom at last they catch and make a prey of. As the Toncontin consists most of walking and turning and leasurly bending their bodies, so this dance doth wholly consist in action, running in a circle round, sometimes out of circle, and leaping and striking with those tooles and instruments which they have in their hand. This is a very rude sport, and full of screeking and hideous noise, wherein I never delighted. Another Mexican dance they use, some clothed like men, others like women, which in Heathenish times they did use with singing praises unto their King or Emperour; but now they apply their songs unto the King of Glory, or unto the Sacrament, using these or commonly the like words with very little difference, and some variety of praise,

Salid Mexicanos, bailad Toncontin.

Cansalas galanas en cuerpo gentil. And againe;


Salid Mexicanos bailad Toncontin.

Al Rey de la gloria tenemos aqui. Thus they goe round dancing, playing in some places very well upon their Guitarres, repeating now and then all together a verse or two, and calling the Mexican Dames to come out to them with their gallant Mantles to sing praise unto their King of Glory. Besides these they have, and use our Morris dances, and Blackmore dances with Sonajas in their hands, which are a round set of small Morris dancing bells, wherewith they make variety of sounds to their nimble feet. But the dance which doth draw to it the peoples wondering is a Tragedy acted by way of dance, as the death of St. Peter, or the beheading of John the Baptist. In these dances there is an Emperour, or a King Herod with their Queens clothed, another clothed with a long loose Coat who represents St. Peter, or John the Baptist, who whilst the rest danceth, walketh amongst them with a book in his hands, as if hee were saying his prayers, all the rest of the Dancers are apparelled like Captaines and souldiers with Swords, Daggers, or Holbards in their hands. They dance at the sound of a small drum and pipes, sometimes round, sometimes in length forward, and have and use many speeches to the Emperour or King, and among themselves concerning the apprehending and executing the Saint. The King and Queen sit sometimes down to hear their pleading against the Saint, and his pleading for himselfe; and sometimes they dance with the rest; and the end of their dance is to crucifie St. Peter downwards with his head upon a Crosse, or behead John the Baptist, having in readinesse a painted head in a dish, which they present unto the King and Queen, for joy whereof they all againe dance merrily and so conclude, taking down him that acted Peter from the Crosse. The Indians that dance this dance most of them are superstitious for what they do, judging as if it were indeed really acted

and performed what onely is by way of dance represented. When I lived amongst them, it was an ordinary thing for him who in the dance was to act St. Peter or John the Baptist, to come first to Confession, saying they must bee holy and pure like that Saint, whom they represent, and must prepare themselves to die. So likewise hee that acted Herod or Herodias, and some of the Souldiers that in the dance were to speak and to accuse the Saints, would afterwards come to confesse of that sinne, and desire absolution as from bloodguiltinesse. More particular passages of the *Indians* according to my experience of them, I shall in the Chapter following truly relate unto my Reader.

CHAP. XX.

Shewing how and why I departed out of Guatemala to learne the Poconchi language, and to live among the Indians, and of some particular passages and accidents whilst I lived there.

AVING read in the University of *Guatemala* for three years space a whole course of Arts, and having begun to read part of Divinity, the more I studied and grew in knowledge, and the more I controverted by way of Arguments some Truths and points of Religion, the more I found the Spirit of Truth inlightening me, and discovering unto me the lies, errors, falsities and superstitions of the Church of *Rome*. My conscience was much perplexed, and wavering, and I desirous of some good and full satisfaction: Which I knew might not bee had there; and that to professe and continue in any opinion contrary to the Doctrine of *Rome*, would bring mee to the Inquisition, that Rack of tender Consciences, and from thence to no lesse then burning alive, in case I would not recant of what the true Spirit had inspired into mee. The point of Transubstantiation, of Purgatory, of the Popes power and authority, of the merit of mans workes, of his free will to choose all soul-saving wayes, the sacrifice of the Masse, the hallowing the Sacrament of the Lords Supper unto the Lay people, the Preilts power to absolve from sinne, the worshipping of Saints though with *idols*, as they call it, and not with *images*, and the Virgin *Mary* with a higher degree of worship then that of the Saints, which they call *idols*, the strange lies and blasphemies which they call miracles recorded in the Legend and lives of their Saints, the infallibility of the Pope, and councill in defining for truth and point of Faith, what in it selfe is false and erroneous; these points especially, with many more of *Romes* policies, and the lewd lives of the Preilts, Fryers, Nuns, and those in authority, did much trouble and perplex my conscience, which I knew would bee better satisfied if I could returne againe to my owne Countrey of *England*, where I knew many things were held contrary to the Church of *Rome*, but what particulars they were, I could not tell, not having been brought up in the Protestant Church, and having been sent young over to *St. Omers*. Wherefore I earnestly addressed my selfe to the Provinciall; and to the President of *Guatemala*, for a licence to come home, but neither of them would yeeld unto it, because there was a strict order of the King and Councell, that no Preilt sent by his Majesty to any of the parts of the *Indias* to Preach the Gospell, should return againe to *Spain* till ten yeers were expired. Hereupon I seeing my selfe a prisoner, and without hopes for the present of seeing *England* in many yeers, resolved to stay no more in *Guatemala*, but to goe out to learne some *Indian* tongue, and to preach in some of their Townes, where I knew more money might bee got to help mee home, when the time should come, then if I did continue to live in the Cloister of *Guatemala*. Yet in the mean time I thought it not unfit to write to *Spain* to a friend of mine an *English* Fryer in *San Lucar*, called Fryer *Pablo de Londrest* to desire him to obtain for mee a License from the Court, and from the Generall of the Order at *Rome*, that I might return unto my Country. In this season there was in *Guatemala*, Fryer *Frañisco de Moran*, the Prior of *Caban* in the Province of *Vera Paz*, who was informing the President and whole Chancery, how necessary it was that some *Spaniards* should bee ayding and assisting him for the discovery of

of a way from that Country unto *Jucatan*, and for the suppressing of such barbarous people and Heathens, as stopped his passage, and did often invade some *Indian* Towns of Christians. This *Moran* (being my special friend, and having been brought up in *Spain* in the Cloister of *San Pablo de Valladolid*, where my selfe was first entered Frier,) was very desirous of my company along with him, for the better bringing into Christianity those Heathens, and Idolaters, telling me that doubtlesse in a new Country new treasure and great riches was like to be found, whereof no small share and portion should befall him and me for our pains and adventure. I was not hard to be persuaded, being above all desirous to convert to Christianity a people that had never heard of Christ; and so purposed to forsake that honour which I had in the University, for to make Christ knowne unto that Heathenish people. The Provinciall was glad to see this my courage, and so with some gifts and money in my purse, sent me with *Moran* to the *Vera Paz* in the company of 50. *Spaniards*, who were appointed by the President to aid and assist us.

When we came to *Coban* we were well refreshed and provided for a hard and dangerous enterprize. From *Coban* we marched to two great Townes of Christians called *St. Peter*, and *St. John*, where we added unto us a hundred *Indians* for our further assistance. From these Towns two daies journey we could travail on Mules safely among Christians and some small villages, but after the two daies we drew neer unto the Heathens Frontiers, where there was no more open way for Mules, but we mult truit unto our feet. We went up and down mountaines amongst woods for the space of two daies, being much discouraged with the thickets and hardnesse of the way, and having no hope of finding out the Heathens. In the night we kept watch and guard for feare of enemies, and resolved yet the third day to goe forward. In the mountaines we found many sorts of fruits and in the bottomes springs and brookes with many trees of *Cacao* and *Achiote*. The third day we went on, and came to a low valley, in the midst whereof ran a shallow river, where we found some *Milpas* or plantations of Maize. These were a testimony unto us of some *Indians* not far off, and therefore made us keep together and be in readinesse, if any assault or onset should be made upon us by the Heathens. Whilst we thus travelled on, we suddenly fell upon halfe a dozen poore cottages, covered with boughes and plantin leaves, and in them wee found three *Indian* women, two men and five young children, all naked, who saine would have escaped, but they could not. We refreshed our selves in their poore cottages and gave them of our provision, which at the first they refused to eat, howling and crying and pulling, till *Moran* had better encouraged and comforted them, whose language they partly understood. We clothed them and tooke them along with us, hoping to make them discover unto us some treasure or some bigger plantation. But that day they were so sullen that we could get nothing out of them. Thus we went on, following some tracks which here and there we found of *Indians*, till it was almost evening, and then we did light upon above a dozen cottages more, and in them a matter of twenty men, women, and children, from whom we tooke some bows and arrowes, and found there store of plantins, some fish, and wild Venison, wherewith we refreshed our selves. These told us of a great Towne two daies journey off, which made us be very watchfull that night. Here I began with some more of our company to be sick and weary, so that the next day I was not able to goe any further; whereupon we resolved to set up our quarters there, and to send out some scouts of *Indians* and *Spaniards* to discover the country, who found further more cottages and plantations of Maize, of *Chile*, of *Turkey beans*, and *Cotton-wool*, but no *Indians* at all, for they were all fled. Our scouts returned, and gave us some encouragement from the pleasantnesse of the Country; but withall wished us to be watchfull and carefull, for that certainly the flight of those *Indians* was a signe that our coming was noised about the Country. The next day we purposed to move forward to that plantation which our scouts had discovered, being (as we were informed) safer and more open to foresee any danger ready to befall us. All these plantations lay along by the river, where the sun was exceeding hot, which had caused feavers and a flux in some of us. With much wearinesse and fainenesse I got that day to our journeys end, beginning now to repent mee of what I was engaged in and on foot, and fearing some suddain danger, by reason our coming was now known by the *Indians*. The prisoners we had with us began to tell us of some gold that they did sometimes find in that river, and of a great lake yet

forward, about which did inhabit many thousand *Indians*, who were very warlike, and skilfull in their bows and arrows. The one encouraged some, the other much discouraged the rest, who wished themselves out of those woods and unknown places, and began to murmur against *Moran*, who had been the cause of their engagement in that great danger. Our night was set, and I and the rest of the sick *Spaniards* went to rest, some upon the bare ground, but my self and others in hamacca's, which are of net-work tied at two posts or trees, and hanging in the aire, which with the least stirring of the body, rocke one asleep as in a Cradle. Thus I tooke my rest till about midnight, at which time our watches gave an alarm against our approaching enemies, who where thought to be about a thousand. They came desperately towards us, and when they saw they were discovered, and our drums beat up, and our fowling peeces and muskets began to shoot, they hollowed and cried out with a hideous noise, which uproar and suddain affrightment, added sweat and fear to my seaver. But *Moran* (who came to confesse with mee, and to prepare himselfe for death or for some deadly wound) comforted me, wishing me to fear nothing, and to lie still, for that I could doe them no good, and that lesse was my danger then I apprehended, because our Souldiers had compassed me about, so that on no side the Heathens could come in, and flie we could not without the losse of all our lives. The skirmish lasted not above an hour, and then our enemies began to flie back. We tooke ten of them, and in the morning found thirteen dead upon the ground, and of ours five onely were wounded, wherof one died the next day.

In the morning our Souldiers began to mutiny and to talke of returning back, fearing a worse and more violent onfet that day or the night following, for some of the *Indians* who were taken, told them plainly that if they went not away there would come six or seven thousand against them. They told us further, that they knew well that the *Spaniards* had all the country about, except that little portion of theirs, which they desired to enjoy quietly and peaceably, and not to meddle with us, but rather if we would see their country and goe through it as friends, they would let us without doing us any hurt; but if we came in a warlike manner to fight and to bring them into slavery, as we had done their neighbours, they were all resolved to die fighting rather then to yeeld. With these words our Souldiers were divided, some with *Moran* were of opinion to try the *Indians*, and to go peaceably through their Country til they could come to some Towne of *Jucatan*; others were of opinion to fight, others to return back again, considering their weakenesse against so many thousands of *Indians* as were in the Country. But that day nothing was agreed upon, for that we could not stir by reason of the sick and wounded. So we continued there that night, and as the night before much about the same time the enemies came againe upon us, but finding us ready and watching for them, they soone fled. In the morning we resolved to returne back, and *Moran* sent the Heathens word, that if they would let him goe through their country quietly to discover some land of *Jucatan*, he would after a few monthes come peaceably unto them with halfe a dozen *Indians*, no more, trusting his lie upon them; whom he knew if they wronged, all the *Spaniards* in the country would rise up against them, and not leave one alive. They answered that they would entertaine him, and any few *Indians* well and willingly, all which *Moran* and they performed according to their agreement the next year following.

Thus we returned that day backe the same way that we had come, and I began to find my self better, and my seaver to leave me. We carried with us some of those young children which we had taken, to present them unto the President of *Guatemala*. And in *Coban* the Prior *Moran* thought he might first do God good service if he christened those young children, saying that they might become Saints, and that afterwards their prayers might prevaile with God for the conversion of their parents and of all that country to Christianity. I could not but oppose this his ignorance, which seemed much like unto that of the Friars who entred *America* with *Cortex*, and increased after the conquest daily more in number, who boasted to the Emperour, that they had some of them made above thirty thousand *Indians* Christians by baptizing them; which truly they did as sheep are forced to the waters and driven to be washed, so were those first *Indians* by thousands sprinkled (or if I may use their word, baptized) for they were driven by compulsion & force to the rivers, neither were they first principled in any grounds of belief and Christianity, neither themselves believers, nor children of

of beleeving and faithfull parents. So would *Moran* christen these children, though I told him that they ought not to partake of that sacrament and Ordinance of Christ, unless they were grounded in articles of Christianity and beleeved, or were children of beleeving parents. But as he had been brought up in errors, whereof that Church of *Rome* is a wide and spacious nest, so he would be obdurate in this point against me and the truth, sprinkling with water those children, and naming them with names of Christians. After this he sent them well apparelled to the resident of *Guatemala*, who commanded them to be kept, and brought up in the Cloister of the Dominican Friars.

I remained after this for a while in *Coban*, and in the Townes about, untill such time as the ships came to the Gulfe, whither I went with *Moran* to buy wines, cyle, iron, cloth and such things as the Cloister wanted for the present. At which time there being a frigate ready to depart to *Truxillo* some occasions drawing *Moran* thither I tooke ship with him. We staid not much above a week in that Port (which is a weak one, as the *English* and *Hollanders* taking of it can witnesse) but presently we thought of returning back to *Guatemala* by land through the countrey of *Comayagua*, commonly called *Honduras*. This is a woody and mountainous countrey, very bad and inconvenient for Travellers, and besides very poore; there the commodities are Hides, *Canna fistula*, and *Larzaparilla*, and such want of bread, that about *Truxillo* they make use of what they call *Cassave*, which is a dry root, that being eaten dry doth choak, and therefore is soaked in broth, water, wine or Chocolate, that so it may go down. Within the Countrey, and especially about the City of *Comayagua* (which is a Bishops seat, though a small place of some five hundred inhabitants at the most) there is more store of Maiz by reason of some *Indians*, which are gathered to Townes, few and small. I found this Countrey one of the poorest in all *America*. The chief place in it for health and good living is the valley which is called *Gracias a Dios*, there are some rich farms of Cattle and Wheat; but because it lieth as neer to the Countrey of *Guatemala* as to *Comayagua*, and on this side the waies are better then on that, therefore more of that Wheat is transported to *Guatemala* and to the Townes about it, then to *Comayagua* or *Truxillo*. From *Truxillo* to *Guatemala* there are between fourescore and a hundred leagues, which we travelled by land, not wanting in a barren Countrey neither guides nor provision, for the poore *Indians* thought neither their personall attendance, nor any thing that they enjoyed too good for us.

Thus we came again to *Guatemala*, and were by the Friars joyfully entertained, and by the President highly rewarded, and by the City called true Apostles, because we had ventured our lives for the discovery of Heathens, and opened a way for their conversion, and found out the chief place of their residence, and sent before us those children to the City, who witnessed with being in the Cloister our pains and indeavours. *Moran* was so puffed up with the Presidents favour, and the popular applause, that he resolved in *Guatemala* to venture again his life, and, according to that message which he had sent before to the Heathen *Indians*, to enter amongst them in a peaceable way with halfe a dozen *Indians*. He would fain have had me gone with him; but I considered the hardnesse of the journey, which I thought I should not be able to perform on foot, and also I feared that the *Barbarians* might mutiny against us for those children which we had brought; and lastly I liked not the Countrey, which seemed poore and not for my purpose, to get meanes sufficient to bring me home to *England*, which was the chiefest thought and desire of my heart for the satisfaction of my conscience, which I found still unquiet. Wherefore I resolved to forsake the company of my friend *Moran*, and to desist from new discoveries of Heathens, and such difficult undertakings, which might endanger my health and life, and at last bring no profit, but only a little vain glory, fame and credit in that Countrey. I thought I might better employ my time, if I learned some *Indian* tongue neerer to *Guatemala*, where I considered the riches of the Townes, the readinesse of the *Indians*, and their willingness to further their Preists wants; and lastly, their ignorance in some points of Religion, which I thought I might help and clear with some sound doctrine, and with preaching Christ crucified unto them, and bringing them unto that rock of eternall blisse and salvation. I trusted in my friends so much, that I knew it would not be hard for me to take my choice of any place about *Guatemala*; from whence I might facilitate my returne to *England*, and write to *Spain*, and have every yeer an answer easier then any where else. I opened my

mind unto the Provinciall (who was then at *Guatemala*) and he presently and willingly condescended to my request, and counselled me to learn the *Pocunchi* language, (whereof I had already got some grounds in the *Vera Paz*) which is most used about *Guatemala*, and also is much practised in *Vera Paz*, and in the Countrey of *San Salvador*. He promised to send me to the Town of *Petapa*, to learne there the language, with a speciall friend of his named Frier *Peter Molina*, who was very old, and wanted the help and company of some younger person to ease him in the charge that lay upon him, of so great a Towne, and many Travellers that passed that way. The Provinciall as if he had knowne my mind, pitched upon my very hearts desire, and thus two weeks before *Midsummer* day I departed from *Guatemala* to *Petapa*, which is six leagues from thence, and there settled my selfe to learn that *Indian* tongue. The Friers of those parts that are any way skilful in the *Indian* languages, have composed Grammars & Dictionaries for the better furthering of others who may supply their places after their decease; but whilst they live are unwilling to teach the languages unto others, lest their schollers should after a good and well grounded knowledge of the tongues, supplant their own Masters, and be means of taking from them that great profit which they have by living as Curates in the *Indian* Townes. Yet this old *Molina* considering himselfe in yeers, and for his good friends sake the Provinciall, was not unwilling to accept of my company, and to impart unto me what knowledge he had got by many yeers practice of the *Pocunchi* tongue. He gave me therefore a short abstract of all the rudiments belonging unto it, which did consist chiefly of declining Nounes, and conjugating Verbs, (which I easily learned in the first fortnight that I had been with him) and then a Dictionary of *Indian* words, which was all the rest of my study to get without book, untill I was able of my selfe to preach unto the *Indians*, which with much easinesse I obtained by discoursing and conferring with them, what with my private study I had learned.

After the first six weeks *Molina* writ downe for me in the tongue a short exhortation, which he expounded to me, and wished me to learne it without booke, which I preached publicly upon the feast of *St. James*. After this he gave me another short exhortation in *Spanishe*, to be preached upon the nineteenth of *August*, which he made me translate into the *Indian* tongue, and he corrected in it what he found amisse, where-with I was a little more emboldened, and feared not to shew my selfe in publick to the *Indians*. This practice I continued three or four times untill *Michaelmas*, preaching what with his help I had translated out of *Spanishe*, untill I was able to talke with the *Indians* alone, and to make mine own Sermons. After *Michaelmas* *Molina* being not a little vain glorious of what he had done with me, in perfecting me in an unknowne tongue in so short a space, which was very little above one quarter of the yeer, writ unto the Provinciall acquainting him of what paines he had taken with me, and of the good successe of his endeavours, assuring him that I was now fit to take a charge of *Indians* upon me, and to preach alone, further desiring him that he would bestow upon me some *Indian* Towne and Benefice, where I might by constant preaching practice and further that which with so much facility I had learned. The Provinciall (who had alwaies been my friend) needed not spurs to stir him up to shew more and more his love and kindnesse unto me; but immediately sent me order to goe unto the two Townes of *Mixco* and *Pinola*, and to take charge of the *Indians* in them, and to give quarterly an account of what I received thence unto the Cloister of *Guatemala*, unto which all that valley did appertaine. All the *Indian* Townes and the Friers that live in them are subordinate unto some Cloister; and the Friers are called by their Superiours to give up for the Cloisters use what monies they have spared, after their own and their servants lawfull maintenance. Which Order yet in *Peru* is not observed, for there the Friers who are once benefited in *Indian* Towns, depend not upon any Cloister, but keep all that they get for themselves, and so receive not from their Cloisters any clothing, or help for their provision, neither give they any account to their Superiours, but keep, clothe and maintain themselves, with what offerings and other duties fall unto them from the *Indians*, which is the cause that the Friers of *Peru* are the richest in all the *Indies*, and live not like Friers but rather like Lords, and game and Dice publicly without controul. But the Friers of *Guatemala*, *Guaxaca*, and *Mexico*, though they have enough and more then is well futable to their vov and profession of poverty, yet they enjoy not the liberty of the *Peruan* Friers in their *Indian* Benefices;

for what is over and above their expences, they give to their Superiours, and from them they receive every month a jar of wine, of an Arroba and a halfe, and every year a new habit with other clothing. Yet with what I have said I must not excuse the Friars of *Guatemala* from liberty, and the enjoyment of wealth and riches; for they also game and sport, and spend, and fill their bags, and where in their accounts and reckonings to the Cloisters they might well give up in a year five hundred Crownes besides their own expences, they give up peradventure three hundred; and usurpe the rest for themselves, and their vain and idle uses, and trade and traffique under hand with Merchants against their vow of poverty.

With this subordination therefore (which I have shew'd) unto the Prior and Cloister of *Guatemala*, was I sent to preach unto the *Indians* of *Mixco* and *Pinola*, from whence for my sake was removed an old Frier of almost fourscore yeers of age, and called to his Cloister to rest, who was not able to performe the charge which lay upon him of two Townes, three leagues distant one from another. The settled means for maintenance which I enjoyed in these Townes, and the common offerings and duties which I received from the *Indians* was this. In *Mixco* I was allowed every moneth twenty Crownes, and in *Pinola* fifteen, which was punctually payed by the Alcaldes and Regidores, Maiors and Jurates, before the end of the moneth; for which payment, the Townes sowed a common peece of land with Wheat or Maiz, and kept their book of accounts, wherein they set downe what crops they yearly received, what monies they tooke in for the sale of their Corne, and in the same booke I was to write downe what every moneth I received from them; which booke at the yeers end they were to present to be examined by some officer appointed thereunto by the Court of *Guatemala*. Besides this monthly allowance, I had from the Sodalities of the soules in Purgatory every week in each Town two Crownes for a Masse; every moneth two Crownes in *Pinola* upon the first Sunday of the moneth from the Sodality of the Rosary; and in *Mixco* likewise every month from three Sodalities of the Rosary of the Virgin *Mary*, which were there belonging unto the *Indians*, the *Spaniards*, and the *Black-mores*, two Crownes a peece. Further from two more Sodalities belonging to the *Vera Cruz*, or the Crosse of Christ, every moneth two Crownes a peece. And in *Mixco* from a Sodality of the *Spaniards* belonging to *St. Nicolas de Tolentino*, two Crowns every month. And from a Sodality of *St. Blas* in *Pinola* every moneth two more Crownes; and finally in *Mixco* from a Sodality entituled of *St. Jacinto* every moneth yet two Crownes, besides some offerings of either mony, fowles, or candles, upon those daies whereon these Masses were sung; all which amounted to threescore and nine Crowns a month, which was surely settled and paid before the end of the moneth. Besides from what I have formerly said of the Saints statues which doe belong unto the Churches, and doe there constantly bring both mony, fowles, candles, and other offerings upon their day, unto the Priest, the yearly revenues which I had in those two Townes will appear not to have been small; for in *Mixco* there were in my time eighteen Saints Images, and twenty in *Pinola*; which brought unto me upon their day four Crowns a peece for Masse and Sermon, and procession; besides fowles, Turkeys and Cacao, and the offerings before the Saints, which commonly might bee worth at least three Crowns upon every Saints day, which yearly amounted to at least two hundred, threescore and six Crownes. Besides the Sodalities of the Rosary of the Virgin, (which as I have before said were foure, three in *Mixco*, and one in *Pinola*) upon five severall feasts of the year (which are most observed by the Church of *Rome*) brought unto me four Crownes, two for the dayes Masse, and two for a Masse the day following, which they call the Anniversarie for the dead, who had belonged unto those Sodalities, which besides those daies offerings (which sometimes were more, sometimes lesse) and the *Indian* presents of fowles and Cacao, made up yearly fourscore Crowns more. Besides this, the two Sodalities of the *Vera Cruz* upon two feasts of the Crosse, the one upon the fourteenth of *September*, the other upon the third of *May*, brought four Crownes a peece for the Masse of the day, and the Anniversarie Masse following, and upon every Friday in Lent two Crownes, which in the whole year came to four and forty Crownes; all which above reckoned, was as a sure rent in those two Townes. But, should I spend time to reckon up what besides did accidentally fall, would be tedious. The Christmas offerings in both those two Townes, were worth to me when I lived there at least forty Crownes. Thursday and Friday offerings be-

fore Easter day were about a hundred Crownes; all Soules day offerings commonly worth fourefcore Crownes; and Candlemas day offerings commonly forty more. Besides what was offered upon the Feast of each Town by all the Country which came in, which in *Mixco* one yeer was worth unto mee in Candles and money fourefcore Crownes, and in *Pinola* (as I reckoned it) fifty more. The Communicants (every one giving a Riall) might make up in both Towns at least a thousand Rials; and the Confessions in Lent at least a thousand more, besides other offerings of Eggs, Hony, Cacao, Fowles and Fruits. Every Christening brought two Rials, every Marriage two Crowns, every ones death two Crowns more at least; and some in my time dyed, who would leave ten or twelve Crownes for five or six Masses to bee sung for their soules.

Thus are those fooles taught that by the Preists singeing their soules are delivered from weeping, and from the fire and torments of Purgatory; and thus by singeing all the yeer doe those Fryers charme from the poore *Indians* and their Sodalities and Saints an infinite treasure wherewith they enrich themselves and their Cloisters; as may bee gathered from what I have noted by my owne experience in those two Townes of *Mixco* and *Pinola*, (which were farre inferiour yet to *Petapa* and *Amatitlan* in the same Valley, and not to bee compared in offerings and other Church duties to many other Townes about that Country) which yet yielded unto mee with the offerings cast into the Chests which stood in the Churches for the soules of Purgatory, and with what the *Indians* offered when they came to speake unto mee (for they never viliſie the Preist with empty hands) and with what other Masse stipends did casually come in, the summe of at least two thousand Crownes of *Spaniſh* money, which might yearly mount to five hundred *Engliſh* pounds. I thought this Benefice might bee a fitter place for mee to live in, then in the Cloister of *Guatemala*, wearying out my braines with points of false grounded Divinity for to get onely the applause of the Scholars of the University, and now and then some small profit; which I thought I might looke after as well as the rest of my profession, nay with more reason, for that I intended to returne to *England*, and I knew I should have little help for so long a journey in leaving there my friends, if so bee that I made not my mony my best freind to assist mee by Sea and Land. My first indeavour was to certifie my selfe from the Book of Receipts and Accounts in the Cloister of *Guatemala*, what reckonings my Predecessor and others before him had given up to the Cloister yearly from *Mixco* and *Pinola*, that I might regulate my selfe and my expenses so, as to be able to live with credit, and to get thanks from the Cloister by giving more then any before me had given. I found that four hundred crowns had been the most that my old Predecessour had given yearly in his Accounts; and that before him little more was usually given from those two Towns; Whereupon I took occasion once in discourse with the Prior of *Guatemala* to aske what hee would willingly expect from mee yearly whilst I lived in those two Towns; to which he replied that if I upheld for my part the Cloisters usuall and yearly Revenues, giving what my Predecessour had given, he would thanke me, and expect no more from mee, and that the rest that befell mee in those Towns, I might spend it in Books, Pictures, Chocolattee, Mules, and Servants; to which I made reply, that I thought I could live in that Benefice creditably enough, and yet give from it more to the Cloister then ever any other before mee had given, and that I would forfeit my continuing there if I gave not to the Cloister every year four hundred and fifty Crowns. The Prior thanked mee heartily for it, and told mee I should not want for wine, (wishing mee to send for it every moneth) nor for clothing, which hee would every yeer once bestow upon me. This I thought would save a great part of my charges, and that I was well provided for as long as I lived in the *Indias*. And here I desire, that *England* may take notice how a Fryer that hath professed to be a Mendicant, being beneficed in *America*, may live with foure hundred pounds a yeer cleare, and some with much more, with most of his cloathing given him besides, and the most charge of his wine supplied, with the abundance of Fowles, which cost him nothing, and with such plenty of Beef, as yeelds him thirteen pound for three pence? Surely well may hee game, buy good Mules, furnish his chamber with hangings, and rich pictures, and Cabinets, yea and fill them with *Spaniſh* Pistols, and peeces of eight, and after all trade in the Court of *Madrid* for a Mitre and fat Bishoprick, which commonly is the end of those proud worldly and lazy Lubbers.

After

After I was once settled in these my two Townes, my first care was to provide my selfe of a good mule, which might soon and easily carry mee (as often as occasion called) from the one Towne to the other. I soon found out one, which cost mee fourescore Crownes, which served my turn very well, to ride speedily the nine miles crosse the Valley, which were between the two Townes. Though my chief study here was to perfect my selfe in the *Indian* tongue, that I might the better preach unto them, and be well understood; yet I omitted not to search out the Scriptures daily, and to addict my selfe unto the Word of God, which I knew would profit mee more then all those riches and pleasures of *Egypt*, which for a while I saw I multienioy, till my ten years were fully expired, and Licence from *Rome* or *Spain* granted for me to return to *England*, which I began speedily to sollicite by meanes of one Captain *Isidro de Zepeda*, a *Sevill* Merchant and Maister of one of the Ships, which came that first yeer that I was settled in *Mixco* with Merchandize for *Guatemala*; By this Captain (who passed often through the Valley) I writ unto my friends in *Spain* and had answers, though at first to little purpose, which did not a little increase the troubles of my Conscience, which were great, and such whereof the wise man sajd, A wounded Conscience who can bear? My friendship with this Captain *Zepeda* was such, that I broke my mind unto him, desiring him to carry mee in his Ship to *Spain*, which he refused to doe, telling me the danger he might bee in, if complaint should be made to the President of *Guatemala*, and wishing me to continue where I was, & to store my self with money that I might return with Licence and credit I resolved therefore with *David* in the 16 *Psal.* and the 8 *V.* to set the Lord alwayes before me, and to choose him for my onely comfort, and to relie upon his providence who I knew only could order things for my good, and could from *America* bring me home to the House of Salvation, and to the house hold of Faith, from which I considered my self an exile, and farre banished. In the mean time I lived five full yeers in the two Townes of *Mixco* and *Pivola*. Where I had more occasion to get wealth and money, then ever any that lived there before mee; for the first yeer of my abiding there it pleased God to send one of the plagues of *Egypt* to that Country, which was of Locusts, which I had never seen till then. They were after the manner of our Grasshoppers, but somewhat bigger, which did flye about in number so thick and infinite that they did truly cover the face of the Sun and hinder the shining forth of the beames of that bright planet. Where they lighted either upon trees or standing Corn, there nothing was expected but ruine, destruction and barrennesse; for the corn they devoured, the leaves and fruits of trees they eat and consumed, and hung so thick upon the branches, that with their weight they tore them from the body. The high waies were so covered with them that they startled the travelling Mules with their fluttering about their head and feet; my eyes were often struck with their wings as I rid along, and much a doe I had to see my way, what with a Montero wherewith I was faine to cover my face, what with the sight of them which were still before my eyes.

The Farmers towards the South Sea Coast, cryed out for that their Indigo which was then in grasse, was like to bee eaten up; from the Ingenio's of Sugar, the like moan was made, that the young and tender Sugar Canes would bee destroyed; but above all grievous was the outcry of the husbandmen of the Valley where I lived, who feared that their Corn would in one night be swallowed up by that devouring Legion. The care of the Magistrate was that the Townes of *Indians* should all goe out into the fields with Trumpets, and what other instruments they had to make a noise, and so to affright them from those places which were most considerable and profitable to the Common-wealth; and strange it was to see how the loud noise of the *Indians* and sounding of the Trumpets, defended some fields from the feare and danger of them. Where they lighted in the Mountaines and High wayes, there they left behind them their young ones, which were found creeping upon the ground ready to threaten with a second yeers plagues if not prevented; wherefore all the Townes were called with Spades, Mattocks and Shovels to dig long Trenches and therein to bury all the young ones.

Thus with much trouble to the poore *Indians*, and their great paines (yet after much hurt and losse in many places) was that flying Pestilence chased away out of the Country to the South Sea, where it was thought to bee consumed by the Ocean, and to have found a grave in the waters, whilst the young ones found it in the Land. Yet they were not all so buried, but that shortly some appeared, which not being

ing so many in number as before were with the former diligence soon overcome. But whilst all this feare was, these outcries were made by the Country and this diligence performed by the *Indians*, the *Priests* got well by it; for every where Processions were made, and Masses sung for the averting of that Plague. In *Mixco* most of the idols were carried to the field, especially the pictures of our Lady, and that of *St. Nicolas Tolentine*, in whose name the Church of *Rome* doth use to beseech little Breads and Wafers with the Saint stamped upon them; which they think are able to defend them from Agues, Plague, Pestilence, Contagion, or any other great and imminent danger. There was scarce any *Spanisb* Husbandman who in this occasion came not from the Valley to the Town of *Mixco* with his offering to this Saint, and who made not a vow to have a Masse sung unto *Saint Nicolas*; they all brought breads to bee blessed, and carried them back to their *Farmes*, some casting them into their Corn, some burying them in their hedges and fences, strongly trusting in *Saint Nicolas*, that his bread would have power to keepe the Locust out of their fields; and so at the last those simple, ignorant, and blinded soules, when they saw the Locusts departed and their Corn safe, cried cut to our Lady some, others to *Saint Nicolas*, *M' agio*, a Miracle, Judging the Saint worthy of praise more then God, and performing to him their vows of Masses, which in their feare and trouble they had vowed, by which erroneous and idolatrous devotion of theirs I got that yeer many more Crownes then what before I have numbred from the Sodalities. The next yeere following, all that country was generally infected with a kinde of contagious sicknesse, almost as infectious as the Plague, which they call *Tabardillo*, and was a Feaver in the very inward parts and bowels, which scarce continued to the seventh day, but commonly tooke them away from the world to a grave the third or fifth day. The filthy smell and stench which came from them, which lay sick of this disease was enough to infect the rest of the house, and all that came to see them; It rotted their very mouths and tongues, and made them as black as a coal before they died. Very few *Spaniards* were infected with this Contagion; but the *Indians* generally were taken with it. It was reported to have begun about *Mexico*, and to have spread from Town to Town, till it came to *Gnatemala*, and went on forwards; and so likewise did the Locusts the yeer before, marching as it were from *Mexico* over all the Country. I visited many that died of this infection, using no other Antidote against it, save onely a handkercheif dipped in Vineger to smell unto, and I thanke God I escaped where many dyed. In *Mixco*, I buried ninety young and old, and in *Pinola* above an hundred, and for all these that were eight yeere old, or upwards, I received two Crownes for a Masse for their soules delivery out of Purgatory. See good Reader, whether the conceit of Purgatory have not been a maine policy of *Rome* to enrich the *Priest* and Clergy, with Masse stipends from such as die, making them beleeve that nothing else can helpe their soules if once plunged into that conceited fire; Where thou maist see that one contagious sicknesse in two small Townes of *Indians* brought unto me in lesse then half a yeer neere a hundred pounds for Masses, for almost two hundred that died. Nay such is the greedy covetousnesse of those *Priests*, that they will receive three or four Masse stipends for one day, making the people beleeve that the same Masse may bee offered up for many, and doe one soule as much good as another. Thus with the Plague of Locusts, and the contagion of sicknesse, for the first two yeers together had I an occasion to enrich my self, as did other *Priests* my neighbours. But think not that because so many died, therefore the Towns growing lesse my offerings for the future were lessened. The *Encomendero's* or Lords of the two Towns took care for that, who, that they might not lose any part of that Tribute which was formerly paid unto them, presently after the sicknesse was ceased, caused them to bee numbred, and (as I have in the Chapter before observed) forced to marriage all that were twelve yeers and upwards of age; which also was a new streame of Crownes flowing into my bagges; for from every couple that were married I had also two Crownes besides other offerings, and in both the Towns, I married in that occasion above fourescore Couple. Truly by all this, I thank the Lord, I was more strengthened in my conceit against the Church of *Rome*, and not with that greedinesse of that Lucre intised to continue in it, though I found the preferments there farre greater then any might bee in the Church of *England*, where I knew nothing was to bee got with singing, or hurling over a Masse. But yet though for the present my profit was great, my eyes were open to see the errors whereby that profit came so plentifully to mee, and to all that crew of Idolatrous

trous Preists. The judgments ceased not here in that Country in my time; but after this contagion there was such an Inundation of rain that the husbandmen feared again the losse of all their Corn. At noone time the darke clouds for a month together began to thicken and cover the face of the heavens, pouring down such stormy showers as swept away much Corn, and many poore Cottages of *Indians*; besides the raine, the fiery thunder bolts breaking through the clouds threatned a dolefull judgement to all the Country. In the Valley of *Misco* two riding together were stricken dead from their Mules, the Chappel of our Lady of *Carmel* in the same valley was burnt to the ground, and likewise two houses at the river of *Vacas*. In *Petapa* another flash of lightning, or thunderbolt fell into the Church upon the high Altar, cracking the walls in many places, running from Altar to Altar, defacing all the gold, and leaving a print and stamp where it had gone without any more hurt. In the Cloister of the *Franciscans* in *Guatemala*, a Frier sleeping upon his bed after dinner, was stricken dead, his body being left all blacke as if it had been burnt with fire, and yet no signe of any wound about him. Many accidents happened that yeer which was 1632. all about the Country. But my selfe was by the safe protection of the Almighty wonderfully saved; for being on a Saturday at night in *Misco* trembling and fearing, and yet trusting in my God, and praying unto him in my chamber, one flash of lightning or thunderbolt fell close to the Church wall to which my chamber joyned, and killed two Calves, which were tied to a post in a yard, to be slaughtered the next morning. The lightning was so neer and terrible that it seemed to have fired all my house, and stricke me downe unto the ground, where I lay as dead for a great while; when I came again to my selfe, I heard many *Indians* about my house, who were come to see if either it or the Church were set on fire. This stormy season brought me also much profit, for (as formerly) the *Spaniards* of the valley and the *Indians* betooke themselves to their Idol Saints carrying them about in procession, which was not done without mony, which they call their almes unto their Saints, that they may the better be heard and intreated by them.

The summer following there was more then the ordinary earthquakes, which were so great that yeer in the Kingdome of *Peru*. that a whole City called *Truxillo* was swallowed up by the earth which opened it selfe, and almost all the people were lost, whilst they were at Church worshipping and praying unto their Saints. The hurt they did about *Guatemala* was not so much as in other places, only some few mud walls were shaken downe, and some Churches cracked; which made the people fear and betake themselves again to their Saints, and empty their purses before them for Masses and processions, lest the danger should prove as great, as was that of the great earthquake which happened before my coming into that Country. These earthquakes when they begin are more often, then long, for they last but for a while, stirring the earth with three motions, first on the one side, then on the other, and with the third motion they seem to set it right againe. If they should continue, they would doubtlesse hurle downe to the ground any steeple or building though never so great, and strong. Yet at this time in *Misco* some were so violent, that they made the steeple bend so much that they made the bells sound. I was so used unto them that many times in my bed I would not stir for them. Yet this yeer they brought me to such a feare, that had not the Lord been a present refuge to me in time of trouble I had utterly been undone. For being one morning in my chamber studying, so great and suddain was an earthquake, that it made me run from my table to a window, fearing that before I could get down the staires, the whole house might fall upon my head, the window was in a thicke wall vaulted upwards like an arch (which the *Spaniards* hold to be the safest place if a house should fall) where I expected nothing but death; as soon as I got under it, the earthquake ceased, though my heart ceased not to quake with the suddain affrightment. Whilst I was musing and thinking what to doe, whether I should run downe to the yard, or continue where I was, there came a second shaking worse then the first. I thought with my selfe if the house should fall, the Arch would not save my life, and that I should either be stifled or throwne out of the window, which was not very low and neer unto the ground, but somewhat high wide open, having no glasse casements but wooden shutters (such as there are used) and if I leaped out of the window, I might chance to breake a leg, or a limbe, yet save my life. The suddainness of the astonishment tooke from me the best and most mature deliberation

in such a case; and in the midst of these my troubled and perplexed thoughts a third motion came as violent as the former, wherewith I had now set one foot in the window to leap down, had not the same Lord (to whom *David* said in the 46 Ps. v. 2. Therefore will not wee feare, though the earth bee moved) by his wonderfull providence spoken both to mee and to the moving earth, saying as in the 10. Verse, Bee still and know that am I God; for certainly had it gone on to a fourth motion, I had by casting down my self broke either my neck, or a legge, or some other joynt. Thus was I twice saved by my good God in *Mixco*, and in *Pinola* I was once no lesse in danger in losing a leg by means of a smaller instrument then is a flea.

This Towne of *Pinola* in the *Indian* language is called *Panac*; *Pan*, signifieth in, or amongst, *Cac*, signifieth three thinges; for it signifieth the fire, or a fruit otherwise called *gniava*, or thirdly, a small vermine, commonly called by the *Spaniards*, *Nigua*; which is common over all the *Indias*, but more in some places then in others. Where there are many hogs, there is usually much of this sort of vermine. The *Spaniards* report that many of the Souldiers of *Sir Francis Drake* died of them, when they landed about *Nombre de Dios*, and marched up the high Mountaines of *St. Pablo* towards *Panama*, who feeling their feet to itch, and not knowing the cause thereof, scratched them so much, till they festred, and at last, (if this report be true) cost them their lives. Some say, they breed in all places, high and low, upon Tables, Beds, and upon the ground; but experience sheweth the contrary, that they onely breed upon the ground, for where the houses are sluttish, and not often swept, there commonly they are most felt; and in that they usually get into the Feet and Shooes, and seldome into the hands or any other part of the body, argues that they breed upon the ground. They are lesse then the least Flea, and can scarce bee perceived, and when they enter into the Foot, they make it burn and itch; and if then they bee looked to, they appeare black, and no bigger then the point of a pin, and with a pin may easily bee taken out whole; but if part of them bee left, the smallest part will doe as much harm as the whole, and will get into the flesh. When once they are got in, they breed a little bagge in the flesh, and in it a great many Nits, which increase bigger and bigger to the bignesse of a great Pea; then they begin again to make the Foot itch, which if it be scratched, falleth to festering, and so indangereth the whole Foot. Some hold it best to take them out when they cause the first itching and are getting in; but this is hard to doe, because they can hardly then bee perceived, and they are apt to bee broken. Therefore others commonly let them alone, untill they bee got into the flesh, and have bred a bag with nits, which like a blister sheweth it self through the skinne, and then with the point of a pin, they dig round about the bag, till they can with the pins point take it out whole; if it bee broken, it comes to breed againe; if it bee taken out whole, then they put in a little Eare wax, or ashes where the bag lay, and with that the hole is healed up againe in a day or two. The way to avoid this vermines entering into the foot, is to lay both shooes and stockings, or whatsoever other clothing upon some stool or chair high from the ground, and not to go bare-foot; which yet is wonderfull in the *Indians* themselves, that though they commonly doe goe barefoot, yet they are seldome troubled with them, which is attributed to the hardnesse of their skin; for certainly were they as tender footed and skinned as are those that wear both shooes and stockings, they would be as much troubled with them as these are. *Panac* or *Pinola*, is much subject to this Vermin, or *Nigua*, and I found it by wofull experience, for at my first coming thither not knowing well the quality of it, I let one breed so long in my foot, and continued scratching it, untill my foot came to be so festred, that I was faine to liet two whole months in a Chirurgions hand, and at last through Gods great mercy and goodnesse to me I lost not a Limbe. But that the Providence of God may be known to me the worst of all his Creatures, living in so farre a Country from all my friends, and from me may be related unto future Generations, before I conclude this Chapter, I shall further shew both my dangers and deliverances. Though true it is, most of the *Indians* are but formally Christians, and onely outwardly appear such, but secretly are given to witchcraft and idolatry, yet as they were under my charge, I thought by preaching Christ unto them, and by cherishing them, and defending them from the cruelty of the *Spaniards*, I might better worke upon them to bring them to more knowledge of some truths, at least concerning God and Christ. Therefore as I found them truly loving, kind and bountifull unto mee, so I indeavoured in all occasions to shew them love by commiserating

rating their sufferings, and taking their part against any *Spaniard* that wronged them, and keeping constantly in my Chamber such drugs (as hot Waters, Anniseed and wine and the like) which I knew might most please them, when they came to see mee, and most comfort them, when they were sick or grieved. This my love and pity towards them had almost in *Pinola* cost mee my life; For an *Indian* of that Town serving a *Spaniard* named *Francisco de Montenegro* (who lived a mile and a half from thence) was once so pitifully beaten and wounded by his Master, for that hee told him hee would complain to mee that hee payed him not his wages, that he was brought home to the Town, and had I not out of my charity called for a Chirurgeon from *Petapa* to cure him, he had certainly dyed. I could not but complain for the poor *Indian* unto the President of *Guatemala*, who respecting my complaint, sent for my *Spaniard* to the City, imprisoned him, and kept him close untill the *Indian* was recovered, and so with a Fine sent him back againe. In a Sermon further I pressed this home unto the neighbouring *Spaniards*, warning them of the wrongs & abuses which they offered unto the poor *Indians*, which I told them I would put up no more then any injury done unto my selfe, for that I looked upon them as Neophytes and new plants of Christianity, who were not to be discouraged, but by all means of love encouraged to come to Christ; withall I commanded all the *Indians* that had any wrong done unto them, to come unto mee, assuring them that I would make such a complaint for them as should bee heard, as they might perceive I had lately done to some purpose. This Sermon stuck so in *Montenegro* his stomach, that (as I was informed) hee made an Oath, that hee would procure my death. Though it was told mee; yet I could hardly beleve it, judging it to be more a bravery and a vaine boasting of a *Spaniard*, then any thing else; Yet by the advice of some friends I was counsell'd to looke to my selfe, which yet I slighted, untill one day the boyes and *Indians* that served in my house came running to my chamber door, wishing mee to look to my selfe, and not to come out, for that *Montenegro* was come into my Yard with a naked sword to kill mee. I charged them from within to call the Officers of the Towne to aid and assist mee; but in the mean while my furious *Spaniard* perceiving himselfe discovered left the Town. With this I thought of securing of my self better, and called for a Blackmore *Miguel Dalva* a very stout and lusty fellow who lived from mee halfe a mile, to bee about mee untill I could discover more of *Montenegros* designs and malicious intents. The next Sabbath Day in the morning being to ride to the Town of *Mixco*, I carried my Blackmore, and halfe a dozen of *Indians* in my company, and going through a little wood in the midt of the Valley, there I found my enemy waiting for mee, who seeing the train I brought, durst doe nothing, but gave mee spightfull languages, telling mee hee hoped that hee should finde mee alone some time or other. With this I thought fit to delay no longer my second complaint to the President against him, who as before heard mee willingly, and after a moneths imprisonment banished *Montenegro* thirty leagues from the Valley. And not onely from *Spaniards* was I in danger for the *Indians* sake whilst I lived in those Townes; but also from some *Indians* themselves, (who were false in Religion) I did undergoe great perils, and yet was still delivered.

In *Pinola* there were some, who were much given to witchcraft, and by the power of the Devill did act strange things. Amongst the rest there was one old woman named *Mariba de Carrillo*, who had been by some of the Town formerly accused for bewitching many; but the *Spanish* Justices quitted her, finding no sure evidence against her; with this she grew worse and worse, and did much harm. When I was there, two or three dyed, withering away, declaring at their death that this *Carrillo* had killed them, & that they saw her often about their beds, threatning them with a frowning and angry look. The *Indians* for feare of her durst not complain against her, nor meddle with her; whereupon I sent word unto *Don Juan de Guzman* the Lord of that Town, that if hee tooke not order with her, she would destroy his Town. He hearing of it, got for mee a Commission from the Bishop and another officer of the Inquisition to make diligent & private inquiry after her life and actions; which I did, and found among the *Indians* many and grievous complaints against her, most of the town affirming that certainly she was a notorious witch, and that before her former accusation shee was wont whither soever shee went about the Town to goe with a Duck following her, which when shee came to the Church, would stay at the doore till shee came out again, and then would return home with her, which Duck they imagined was her beloved Devill, and familiar Spirit, for that they

had often set dogs at her and they would not meddle with her, but rather run away from her. This Duck never appeared more with her, since she was formerly accused before the Justice, which was thought to be her policy, that she might be no more suspected thereby. This old woman was a widow, and of the poorest of the Town in outward shew, and yet she alwaies had store of mony, which none could tel which way she might come by it. Whilst I was thus taking privy information against her (it being the time of Lent, when all the Town came to Confession) she among the rest came to the Church to confesse her sins, and brought me the best present and offering of all the Towne, for whereas a Riall is common she brought me four, and besides a Turkey, eggs, fish, and a little bottle of hony. She thought thereby to get with me a better opinion then I had of her from the whole Towne; I accepted of her great offering, and heard her Confession, which was of nothing but trifles, which could scarce be judged sinfull actions. I examined her very close of what was the common judgement of all the *Indians*, and especially of those who dying had declared to my selfe at their death that she had bewitched them, and before their sicknesse had threatened them, and in their sicknes appeared threatning them with death about their beds, none but they themselves seeing her. To which she replied weeping, that she was wronged; I asked her, how she being a poore widow without any sons to helpe her, without any meanes of livelihood had so much mony, as to give me more then the richest of the Town, how she came by that fish, Turkey, and hony, having none of this of her owne about her house? to which she replied, that God loved her and gave her all these things, and that with her mony she had bought the rest. I asked her of whom? she answered that out of the Towne she had them. I perswaded her much to repentance, and to forsake the Devill and all fellowship with him; but her words and answers were of a Saintly and holy woman; and she earnestly desired me to give her the Communion with the rest that were to receive the next day. Which I told her I durst not doe, using Christs words, Give not the childrens bread unto dogs, nor cast your pearls unto swine; and that it would be a great scandall to give the Communion unto her, who was suspected generally, and had been accused for a witch. This she took very ill telling me that she had many yeers received the Communion, and now in her old age it grieved her to be deprived of it; her teares were many, yet I could not be moved with them, but resolutely denied her the Communion, and so dismissed her. At noone when I had done my worke in the Church, I had my servants goe to gather up the offerings, and gave order to have the fish dressed for my dinner which she had brought; but no sooner was it carried into the Kitchen, when the Cook looking on it found it full of maggots, and stinking, so that I was forced to hurle it away. With that I began to suspect my old witch, and went to looke on her hony, and powring it out into a dish, I found it full of wormes, her eyes I could not know from others, there being neer a hundred offered that day; but after as I used them, we found some rotten, some with dead chickens within; the next morning the Turkey was found dead; as for her four Rials, I could not perceive whether she had bewitched them out of my pocket, for that I had put them with many other, which that day had been given me, yet as far as I could, I called to memory who and what had been given me, and in my judgement and reckoning I verily thought that I missed four Rials. At night when my servants the *Indians* were gone to bed, I sate up late in my chamber betaking my selfe to my bookes and study, for I was the next morning to make an exhortation to those that received the Communion. After I had studied a while, it being between ten and eleven of the clock, on a suddain the chief door in the hall (where in a lower room was my chamber, and te servants, and three other doores) flew open, and I heard one come in, and for a while walke about; then was another doore opened which went into a little room, where my saddles were laide; with this I thought it might be the Black-more *Miguel Dava*, who would often come late to my house to lodge there, especially since my fear of *Montenegro*, and I conjectured that he was laying up his saddle, I called unto him by his name two or threetimes from within my chamber, but no answer was made; but suddainly another door that went out to a garden flew also open, where with I began within to feare; my joynts trembled, my haire stood up, I would have called out to the servants, and my voice was as it were stopped with the sudden affrightment, I began to thinke of the witch, and put my trust in God against her, and encouraged my selfe and voice calling out to the servants, and knocking with a cane at

my doore within that they might heare me, for I durst not open it and goe out. With the noise which I made the servants awaked and came out to my chamber doore; then I opened it, and asked them if they had not heard some body in the hall, and all the doores opened. They said they were asleep, and heard nothing, onely one boy said he heard all, and related unto me the same that I had heard. I tooke my candle then in my hand and went out into the hall with them to view the doores, and I found them all shut, as the servants said they had left them. Then I perceived that the witch would have affrighted me, but had no power to doe me any harme; I made two of the servants lie in my chamber, and went to bed. In the morning early I sent for my *Fiscal* the Clerk of the Church, and told him what had happened that night; he smiled upon me, and told me it was the widow *Carillo*, who had often played such tricks in the Town with those that had offended her, and therefore he had the night before come unto me from her desiring me to give her the Communion, lest she should doe me some hurt, which I denied unto him, as I had done to her selfe. The Clerk bad me be of good cheere, for he knew she had no power over me to do me any hurt. After the Communion that day some of the chief *Indians* came unto me, and told me that old *Carillo* had boasted that she would play me some trick or other, because I would not give her the Communion. But I to rid the Towne of such a limbe of Satan, sent her to *Guatemala*, with all the evidences and witnesses which I had found against her unto the President and Bishop, who commanded her to be put in prison, where she died within two moneths.

Many more *Indians* there were in that Town, who were said in my time to doe very strange things. One called *John Gonzalez* was reported to change himselfe into the shape of a Lion, and in that shape was one day shot in the nose by a poore harmelesse *Spaniard* who chiefly got his living by going about the woods and mountaines, and shooting at wild Deer and other beasts to make money of them. He espied one day a Lion, and having no other ayme at him but his snout behind a tree, he shot at him; the Lion run away; the same day this *Gonzalez* was taken sick, I was sent for to hear his Confession, I saw his face and nose all bruised, and asked him how it came, he told me then that he had fallen from a tree and almost killed himself; yet afterwards he accused the poore *Spaniard* for shooting at him; the businesse was examined by a *Spanish* Justice, my evidence was taken for what *Gonzalez* told me of his fall from a tree, the *Spaniard* was put to his oath, who sware that he shot at a Lion in a thicke wood, where an *Indian* could scarce be thought to have any businesse, the tree was found out in the wood, whereat the shot had been made and was still marked with the shot and bullet; which *Gonzalez* confessed was to be the place; and was examined how he neither fell nor was seen by the *Spaniard*, when he came to seeke for the Lion thinking he had killed; to which he answered that he ran away lest the *Spaniard* should kill him indeed. But his answers seeming frivolous, the *Spaniards* integrity being known, and the great suspicion that was in the Town of *Gonzalez* his dealing with the Devill, cleared the *Spaniard* from what was laid against him.

But this was nothing to what after happened to one *John Gomez*, the chiefeft *Indian* of that Towne of neer fourscore yeers of age, the Head and Ruler of the principallest Tribe among the *Indians*, whose advise and counsell was taken and preferred before all the rest, who seemed to be a very godly *Indian*, and very seldome missed morning and evening prayers in the Church, and had bestowed great riches there. This *Indian* very suddainly was taken sick (I being then in my other Town of *Mixco*) the *Mayordmar*, or stewards of the Sodality of the Virgin fearing that he might die without Confession and they be chid for their negligence, at midnight called me up at *Mixco*, desiring me to goe presently and helpe *John Gomez* to die, whom also they said desired much to see me and to receive some comfort from me. I judging it a work of charity, although the time of the night were unseasonable, and the great rain at the present might have stopped my charity, yet I would not be hindred by either of them, and so set forth to ride nine miles both in the dark and wet. When I came to *Pinola* being thorow wet to the skin, I went immediately to the house of old sick *Gomez*, who lay with his face all muffled up, thanked me for my pains and care I had for his soule; he desired to confesse, and by his confession and weeping evidenced nothing but a godly life, and a willing desire to die and to be with Christ. I comforted him and prepared him for death, and before I departed, asked him how he felt himselfe; he answered that his sicknesse was no-

nothing but old age, and weaknesse. With this I went to my house, changed my self and lay downe a while to rest, when suddainly I was called up again to give *Gomez* the extreame unction, which the *Indians* (as they have been ignorantly taught) will not omit to receive before they die. As I anointed him in his nose, his lips, his eyes, his hands and his feet, I perceived that he was swelled, and black and blew; but made nothing of it, judging it to proceed from the sickness of his body; I went again home being now breake of the day, when after I had taken a small nap, some *Indians* come to my doore for to buy candles to offer up for *John Gomez* his soule, whom they told me was departed, and was that day to be buried very solemnly at Masse. I arose with drouisie eyes after so unquiet a nights rest; and walked to the Church, where I saw the grave was preparing. I met with two or three *Spaniards* who lived near the Towne and were come to Masse that morning, who went in with me to my chamber, and with them I fell into discourse about *John Gomez*, telling them what comfort I had received at his death, whom I judged to have lived very holily, and doubted not of his salvation, and that the Towne would much want him, for that hee was their chief guide, and leader, ruling them with good advice and counsell. At this the *Spaniards* smiled one at another, and told me I was much deceived by all the *Indians*, but especially by the deceased *Gomez*, if I judged him to have been a Saint, and holy man. I told them that they as enemies to the poore *Indians* judged still uncharitably of them; but that I who knew very well their consciences, could judge better of them then they. One then replied, that it seemed I little knew the truth of *John Gomez* his death by the Confession which he had made unto me, and that I seemed to be ignorant of the stir which was in the Towne concerning his death. This seemed so strange unto me, that I desired them to informe me of the truth. Then they told me that the report went, that *John Gomez* was the chief wizard of all the wizards and witches in the Towne, and that commonly he was wont to be changed into the shape of a Lion, and so to walke about the mountaines. That he was ever a deadly enemy to one *Sebastian Lopez* an ancient *Indian*, and head of another Tribe; and that both of them two daies before had met in the mountaine, *Gomez* in the shape of a Lion, and *Lopez* in the shape of a Tigre, and that they fought most cruelly, till *Gomez* (who was the older, and weaker) was tired, much bit and bruised; and died of it. And further that I might be assured of this truth, they told me that *Lopez* was in prison for it, and the two Tribes striving about it, and that the Tribe and kindred of *Gomez* demanded from *Lopez* and his Tribe and kindred satisfaction, and a great sum of money, or els did threaten to make the case known unto the *Spanish* power and authority, which yet they were unwilling to doe if they could agree and smother it up among themselves, that they might not bring an aspersion upon their whole Towne. This seemed very strange unto me, and I could not resolve what to beleieve, and thought I would never more beleieve an *Indian*, if I found *John Gomez* to have so much dissembled and deceived me. I tooke my leave of the *Spaniards* and went my selfe to the prison, where I found *Lopez* with fetters. I called one of the officers of the Towne, who was *Alguazil* Maior, and my great friend, unto my house, and privately examined him why *Lopez* was kept so close prisoner; he was loth to tell me fearing the rest of the *Indians*, and hoping the businesse would be taken and agreed by the two Tribes, and not noised about the Country which at that very instant the two *Alcaldes* and *Regidores*, *Maiors* and *Jurates*, with the chiefe of both Tribes were sitting about in the Towne-house all that morning. But I seeing the officer so timorous, was more desirous to know something, and pressed more upon him for the truth, giving him an inkling of what I had heard from the *Spaniards* before. To which he answered that if they could agree amongst themselves, they feared no ill report from the *Spaniards* against their Towne; I told him I must know what they were agreeing upon amongst themselves so closely in the Towne-house. He told me, if I would promise him to say nothing of him (for he feared the whole Towne if they should know he had revealed any thing unto mee) he would tel me the truth. With this I comforted him, and gave him a cup of wine, and encouraged him, warranting him that no harm should come unto him for what he told me. Then he related the businesse unto me as the *Spaniards* had done, and told me that he thought the Tribes amongst themselves would not agree, for that some of *Gomez* his friends hated *Lopez* and all such as were so familiar with the Devill, and cared not if *Gomez* his dissembling life were laid open to the world; but others he said, who were

were as bad as *Lopez* and *Gomez*, would have it kept close, lest they and all the witches and Wizards of the Town should be discovered. This struck mee to the very heart, to think that I should live among such people, whom I saw were spending all they could get by their worke and labour upon the Church, Saints and in offerings, and yet were so privy to the counsels of Satan; it grieved mee that the Word I preached unto them, did no more good, and I resolved from that time forward to spend most of my indeavours against Satans subtilty, and to shew them more then I had done, the great danger of their soules who had made any compact with the Devill, that I might make them abandon and abjure his workes, and close with Christ by Faith. I dismissed the *Indian*, and went to the Church, to see if the people were come to Masse; I found there no body but onely two who were making *Gomez* his Grave. I went back to my Chamber, troubled much within my self, whether I should allow him a Christian Buriall, who had lived and died so wickedly, as I had been informed. Yet I thought I was not bound to beleve one *Indian* against him, nor the *Spaniards*, whom I supposed spoke but by hearsay. Whilst I was thus musing, there came unto mee at least twenty of the chieft of the Town with the two Majors, Jurates, and all the Officers of Justice, who desired mee to forbear that day the burying of *John Gomez*, for that they had resolved to call a Crowne Officer to view his Corps and examine his death, lest they all should be troubled for him, and hee againe unburied. I made as if I knew nothing, but inquired of them the reason; then they related all unto me, and told me how there were witnesses in the Town who saw a Lyon and a Tyger fighting, and presently lost the sight of the beasts, and saw *John Gomez*, and *Sebastian Lopez*, much about the same place parting one from another, and that immediately *John Gomez* came home bruised to his bed, from whence he never rose more, and that he declared upon his death-bed unto some of his friends that *Sebastian Lopez* had killed him; whereupon they had him in safe custody. Further they told me that though they had never known so much wickedness of these two chief heads of their Towne whom they had much respected and followed, yet now upon this occasion, from the one Tribe and the other they were certainly informed that both of them did constantly deale with the Devill, which would be a great aspersion upon their Town; but they for their parts abjured all such wicked wayes, and prayed me not to conceive the worse of all for a few, whom they were resolved to persecute, and suffer not to live amongst them. I told them I much liked their good zeal, and encouraged them as good Christians to endeavour the rooting out of Satan from their Towne, and they did very well in giving notice to *Guatemala*, to the *Spanish* power, of this accident, and that if they had concealed it, they might all have been punished as guilty of *Gomez* his death, and Agents with Satan, and his instruments. I assured them I had no ill conceipt of them, but rather judged well of them for what they were agreed to doe. The Crowne Officer was sent for who came that night and searched *Gomez* his body; I was present with him, and found it all bruised, scratched, and in many places bitten and sore wounded. Many evidences and suspitions were brought in against *Lopez* by the *Indians* of the Town, especially by *Gomez* his friends, whereupon hee was carried away to *Guatemala*, and there againe was tryed by the same witnesses, and not much denying the fact himself, was there hanged. And *Gomez*, though his grave was opened in the Church, hee was not buried in it, but in another made ready for him in a Ditch.

In *Mexico* I found also some *Indians* no lesse dissemblers then was this *Gomez*, and those of the chieft and richelt of the Town, who were foure Brothers called *Fuentes*, and half a score more. These were outwardly very faire tongued, liberall, and free handed to the Church, much devoted to the Saints, great feasters upon their day, and yet in secret great Idolaters. But it pleased God to make mee his instrument, to discover and bring to light the secrecy of their hidden works of darknesse, which it seems the privacy of a thick Wood and Mountaine had many yeers hid from the eyes of the World. Some of these being one day in the company of other better Christians drinking hard of their *Chicha*, boasted of their God, saying that hee had preached unto them better then I could preach, nay that hee had plainly told them that they should not beleve any thing that I preached of Christ, but follow the old wayes of their Forefathers, who worshipped their Gods aright, but now by the example of the *Spaniards* they were deluded, and brought to worship a false God. The other Christians hearing of this began to wonder, and to enquire of them where that God was; and with

much ado, promising to follow their ways, and their God, got out of them the place and Mountain where they might find him. I though this in drunkenness were agreed upon, yet in sobriety the good Christians thought better of what they had agreed upon, lighted what before in drinking they heard, and yet it was not kept by them so close, but that it came to the ears of a *Spaniard* in the Vally, who finding himself touched in Conscience, came to *Mixco* to me, and told me what he had heard, that some *Indians* of that town followed an Idol, and boasted that he had preached unto them against my Doctrine, and for the ways of the former Heathens. I thanked God for that he was pleased to undermine the secret works of Satan daily, and desired the *Spaniard* to tell me by whom he came to know of this. He told me the *Indians* name from whom he had it, and that he was afraid to discover the *Indians*, and to tell mee of it. I sent for the *Indian* before the *Spaniard*, who confessed unto mee that hee had heard of such a thing; but knew that if hee did discover the *Indians*, they with the power of the Devil I would doe him much harm; I told him, if hee were a true Christian, hee ought to fight against the Devil, and not to feare him, who could do him no harm if God were with him, and hee clofed by Faith with Christ, and that the discovery of that Idoll might bee a meanes for the converting of the Idolaters, when they should see the small power of their false God against the true God of the Christians. Further I told him plainly, that if hee did not tell mee who the *Indians* were, and where their Idol was, that I would have him to *Guatemala*, and there make him discover what hee knew. Here the *Indian* began to tremble, and told mee the *Fuentes* had boasted of such an Idol, whom they called their God, and gave some signes of a Fountaine and of a Pine Tree at the mouth of a Cave in such a Mountaine. I asked him, if hee knew the place, or what kind of Idol it was; hee told mee, that hee had often been in that Mountaine, where hee had seen two or three springs of water, but never was in any Cave. I asked him if he would goe with mee, and helpe mee to find it out, hee refused still fearing the Idolaters, and wished mee not to goe, for feare if they should bee there, they might kill mee rather then bee discovered. I answered him that I would carry with mee such a Guard as should bee able to defend mee against them, and my Faith in the true living God, would secure mee against that false God. I resolved therefore with the *Spaniard* to goe to search out the cave the next day, and to carry with mee three or foure *Spaniards*, and my Blackmore *Miguel Dalva*, and that *Indian*. I told him I would not suffer him to goe home to his house that day, for feare hee should discover in the Townemy designe and purpose, and so wee might bee prevented by the Idolaters, who certainly that night would take away their Idol. The *Indian* still refused, till I threatned him to send for the Officers of Justice, and to sequester his person; with this hee yielded, and that hee might have no discourse with any body in the Town, nor with the Servants of my house, I desired the *Spaniard* to take him home to his house, and to keep him there close that day and night, promising to bee with him the next morning. I charged the *Spaniard* also with secrecy, and so dismissed him with the *Indian*. That day I rid to *Pinola* for the Blackmore *Miguel Dalva*, and brought him to *Mixco* with mee, not telling him what my intent was; I went also to foure neighbouring *Spaniards*, desiring them to bee in a readinesse the next morning to goe a little way with mee for the service of God, and to meet mee at such a neighbours house, and that if they would bring their Fowling peeces, wee might chance to find some sport where wee went, and as for Provision of Wine and Meat, I would provide sufficiently. They promised to goe with mee, thinking that although I told them, it was for the service of God, my purpose onely was to hunt after some wild Deere in the mountaines. I was glad they continued my action that way, and so went home, and provided that night a good Gammon of Bacon, and some Fowles roasted, cold, and others boiled, well peppered and salted for the next dayes work. Where I had appointed my *Indian* to be kept, I met with the rest of my company, and from thence wee went together to the place of the Idolaters worshipping, which was some six miles from *Mixco* towards the Town of *St. John Sacatepeques*. When wee came into the Wood wee presently met with a deep Barranca, or bottome, where was a running, which encouraged us to make there diligent search, but nothing could bee found; from thence wee ascended up out of the Barranca, and found after much time spent a spring of water, and looked carefully about it, but could finde no Cave. Thus in vaine wee searched till the Evening, and fearing lest wee might lose our way and our selves, if the night overtook us, my friends began to speak of returning homewards. But I considering

dering that as yet wee had not gone over one half part of the Wood, and to goe home and come againe might make us to bee noted, and spoken of, wee thought it our best way to take up our lodging that night in the Wood, and in that bottome which we first searched, where was good water for to drinke Chocolate, and warm lying under the trees, and so in the morning to make our second search. The Company was very willing to yeeld unto it, and the calme night favoured our good intentions. We made a fire for our Chocolate, and supped exceeding well of our cold meat, and spent most part of the night in merry discourse, having a watchfull eye over our *Indian*, lest hee should give us the slip, and committing him to the charge of *Miguel Dalva*. In the morning wee prayed unto God, beseeching him to guide us that day in the work wee went about, and to discover unto us the Cave of darkenesse and iniquity, where lay hid that instrument of Satan, that so by his discovery Glory might be given unto our true God, and shame and punishment brought upon his enemies. Wee entered againe into the thick Wood up a steepy hill, and having thoroughly searched all the South side of it, wee went on to the North side, where wee found another deepe descent, which wee began to walke downe looking on every side, and not in vain; for almost half a mile from the top wee found some markes of a way that had been used and trodden, which wee followed untill we came to another spring of water; we searched narrowly about it, and found some peeces of broken earthen dishes and pots, and one peece of a chafing dish, such as the *Indians* use to burne Frankincense in, in the Churches before their Saints, we verily imagined that these were peeces of some such instruments wherewith the idolaters performed their duty unto their Idol, and we were the more comforted for that wee knew that earthen ware had beene made in *Mixco*; the pine Tree which immediately we discovered confirmed our hopes. When wee came unto it we made very little more search, for neer at hand was the Cave, which was dark within, but light at the mouth, where wee found more Earthen ware, with ashes in them, which assured us of some Frankincense that had been burned. Wee knew not how farre the Cave might reach within, nor what might bee in it, and therefore with a flint wee struck fire and lighted a couple of candles and went in; at the entering it was broad, and went a little forward, but when wee were in, we found it turn on the left hand towards the mountaine, and not farre; for within two rods wee found the Idol standing upon a low stooill covered with a linnen cloth. The substance of it was wood, black shining like Jet, as if it had been painted or smoaked, the form was of a mans head unto the shoulders, without either Beard or Mustachoes; his looke was grim with a wrinkled forehead, and broad startling eyes. We feared not his frowning look, but presently seized upon him; and as wee lifted him up we found under him some single Rialls, which his Favorites had offered unto him; which made us search more diligently the Cave; and it was not amisse, for wee found upon the ground more single Rialls, some plantines and other fruits, wax candles halfe burned, pots of Maiz, one little one of Hony, little dishes wherein Frankincense had been burned, whereby I perceived the Idolaters and Christians both agreed in their offerings; and had I not been informed that they called this Idol their God, I could have blamed them no more then the rest of the Townes who worship, kneel before and offer such offerings unto their Saints made of Wood, and some no handfomer then was this Idol, which I thought, might have beene some beasts shape; but being the shape and form of a man, they might have named him by the name of some Saint, and so some way have excused themselves, which they could not doe, nor would they doe it, in that they persisted in this error, that he was their God, and had spoken and preached unto them, and being afterwards asked by mee, whether it were the picture of any Saint, such as were in *Mixco*, and other Churches, they answered, No, but that hee was above all the Saints in the Country.

Wee were very joyfull to see that wee had not spent our time in vaine, wee cut down boughes of trees, and filled the Cave with them and stopped the mouth of it up, and came away, making the *Indian* that went with us carry the Idol on his back wrapped up in a cloth, that it might not bee seen or perceived as wee went. I thought it fit to delay the time till night, and then to enter into *Mixco*, that the *Indians* might see nothing. So I stayed at one of the *Spaniards* houses, till it were late, and desired him to warn from mee all the *Spaniards* thereabouts to be at *Mixco* Church the next Sabbath, (feearing lest the Idolaters might bee many, and rise up against mee) that I had

somewhat to say unto them and their Blackmores concerning their Sodalities, for I would not have them know of the Idoll, till they heard of it and saw it in the Church, lest it should come to the *Indians* hearing, and so the Idolaters might absent themselves. At night I tooke my *Indian*, and *Miguel Dalva* with mee, and went home, and shutting up the Idol in a chest till the next Sabbath, I dismissed the *Indian*, charging him to say nothing, for hee knew if hee did what harme might come unto him from the Idolaters, and I knew few words now would suffice, for that hee feared himselfe if it should bee known that hee had been with mee. I kept *Miguel Dalva* with mee, who was desirous to see the end of the businesse, and prepared my self against the next Sabbath to preach upon the 3.v. of the 20. of *Exodus*, *Thou shalt have none other Gods before mee*, though it were a Text nothing belonging to the Gospel of the day, from whence commonly in the Church of *Rome*, the Texts and subjects of Sermons are deducted; but I judged that Text most seasonable for the present occasion. On the Sabbath day in the morning, when the Pulpit was made ready by him who had care of the Church and Altars, I caused *Miguel Dalva* to carry under his Cloak the Idol, and to leave it in the Pulpit upon the ground that it might not bee seene, till such time as I should thinke fit in my Sermon to produce it, and to watch about the Church till the Congregation came in, that none might see it or take it away. Never was there a greater reort from abroad to that Church then that day of *Spaniards* and Blackmores, who by the warning I sent unto them expected some great matter from mee, and of the Town very few were absent, the *Fuertes* and all the rest that were suspected to be that Idols favorites (little thinking that their God was brought from his Cave, and now lay hid in the Pulpit to shame them) came also that day to Church. I commanded *Miguel Dalva*, to bee himself neer the Pulpit at Sermon time, and to warne those *Spaniards* that knew the businesse, and some more Blackmores his friends to bee also neere the Pulpit staires.

Thus Masse being ended, I went up to preach; when I rehearsed the words of my Text, I perceived both *Spaniards* and *Indians* began to look one upon another, as not being used to Sermons out of the Old Testament. I went on laying open this command of God, for having no other Gods before him, so that the Doctrine might seem to convince all that were there present, as well Saint-worshippers, as indeed that Idols worshippers, if the cause of my preaching upon that Subject had not diverted their eyes from themselves to behold their own guiltiness of Idolatry, & to look only upon those who worshipped a peece of wood for God, & not, as they did, for a Saint (which yet in my judgment was much alike.) After I had spoken what I thought fit concerning that horrible sin, and shewed that no creature could have the power of God (who was the Creator of all things) neither could doe good or harme without the true living Gods Commission, especially inanimate Creatures as stocks, and stones, who by the hands and workmanship of man might have eyes, and yet were dead Idols, and see not, might have eares and not heare, might have mouths, and not speak, might have hands, and not worke, nor helpe or defend with them such as worshipped them, and bowed down unto them.

Thus having halfe finished my Sermon, I bowed my selfe downe in the Pulpit, and lifted up the black, grim, and staring Devill, and placed that Dagon on one side of the Pulpit, with my eyes fixed upon some of the *Fuertes* and others, who I perceived changed their colour, blushed, and were sore troubled looking one upon another, I desired the Congregation to behold what a God was worshipped by some of them, and all to take notice of him, if any knew what part of the earth was the Dominion of this God, or from whence hee came. I told them that some had boasted that this peece of wood had spoken, and preached against what I had taught of Christ, and that therefore hee was worshipped by them for God, and they had offered mony, hony, and of the fruits of the earth unto him, and burnt Frankincense before him in a secret and hidden Cave under the earth, shewing thereby that they were ashamed to own him publickly, and that hee lurking in the darknesse of the earth, shewed certainly that hee belonged to the Prince of darknesse. I challenged him there in publicke to speak for himself, or else by silence to shame and confound all his worshippers. I shewed them how being but wood, hee had been made and fashioned by the hands of man, and therefore was but a dead idol. I spent a great deal of time arguing with him, and desying Satan who had used him as his instrument, daring the Devill himselfe to take him from that place which I had confined him to if hee could, to shew what little power
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he or Satan had againſt the power of my faith in Chriſt. After much arguing and reaſoning according to the ſhallow capacity of the *Indians* preſent, I told them if that their God had power to deliver him from that execution, which I had intended againſt him (which was there publickly to have him cut in pieces and burnt) they ſhould not beleve the Goſpell of Jeſus Chriſt; but if they ſaw no power at all in him againſt me the weakeſt inſtrument of the true living God, then I beſeeched them to be converted unto that true God who created all things, and to imbrace ſalvation by his Son the only Mediatour and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and to renounce and abjure from that time all Heatheniſh Idolatry of their forefathers, aſſuring them for what was paſt I would intercede for them, and ſecure them from what puniſhment might be inflicted upon them by the Preſident and Biſhop, and if they would come to me, I would ſpend my beſt indeavours for the helping and furthering of them in the way of Chriſtianity.

And thus concluding without naming any perſon, I went downe out of the pulpit, and cauſed the Idol to be brought after me, and ſending for an axe, and for two or three great pans of coales, I commanded him to be hewen in very ſmall peeces, and to be caſt in the fire and burned before all the people in the miſt of the Church. The *Spaniards* cried out joyfully *Viſtor Viſtor*, and others repeated, *Gloria à noſtro Dio*, Glory to our God, the Idolaters held their peace and ſpake not then a word. But afterwards they acted moſt ſpightfully againſt me, and conſpired day and night to get me at ſome advantage, and to kill me. I writ to the Preſident of *Guatemala* informing him of what I had done, and to the Biſhop (as an Inquiſitor to whom ſuch caſes of idolatry did belong) to be informed from him of what courſe I ſhould take with the *Indians* who were but in part yet diſcovered unto me, and thoſe onely by the relation of one *Indian*. From both I received great thanks for my paines in ſearching the mountaine, and finding out the Idol, and for my zeal in burning of it. And as touching the *Indian* Idolaters their counſell unto me was, that I ſhould further enquire after the reſt and diſcover as many as I could, and endeavour to convert them to the knowledge of the true God by faire and ſweet meanes, ſhewing pity unto them for their great blindneſſe, and promiſing them upon their repentance pardon from the Inquiſition, which conſidering them to be but new plants uſeth not ſuch rigour with them, which it uſeth with *Spaniards* if they fall into ſuch horrible ſins. This adviſe I followed, and ſent privately for the *Fuentes* to my chamber, and told them how mercifull the Inquiſition was unto them, expecting their converſion and amendment. They ſeemed ſomewhat ſtubborne and angry for that I had burned that God, whom not onely they, but many others in the Towne, and alſo in the Towne of *Saint John Saccatepeques* did worſhip. I uſed reaſons to perſwade them no honour was due unto it, as to a God. But one of them boldly replied, that they knew that it was a peece of wood and of it ſelfe could not ſpeake, but ſeeing it had ſpoken (as they were all witneſſes) this was a miracle whereby they ought to be guided, and they did verily beleve that God was in that peece of wood, which ſince the ſpeech made by it was more then ordinary wood, having God himſelfe in it, and therefore deſerved more offerings and adoration then thoſe Saints in the Church, who did never ſpeake unto the people. I told them that the Devill rather had framed that ſpeech (if any they had heard) for to deceive their ſouls and lead them to hell; which they might eaſily perceive from the Doctrin which I was informed he had preached againſt Chriſt the onely begotten ſon of God, whom the Father loveth and in whom he is well pleaſed, and againſt whom he certainly would not ſpeake in that idol. Another answered boldly, our forefathers never knew what Chriſt was, until the *Spaniards* came unto that Countrey, but they knew there were Gods, & did worſhip them, and did ſacrifice unto them; and for ought they knew this God of theirs belonged in old times unto their forefathers. Why then, ſaid I unto them, he was a weake God who by my hands hath been burned? I perceived that at that time there was no reaſoning with them, for they were ſtubborn and captious, and ſo I diſmiſſed them. Had not God moſt graciouſly protected me againſt theſe my enemies, I had certainly been murdered by them; for a moneth after the burning of the idol, when I thought all had been forgotten, and that the Idolaters were quiet, then they began to act their ſpight and malice, which firſt I diſcovered by a noiſe which once at midnight I heard of people about my houſe, and at my chamber doore; to whom I called out from my bed not daring to open, but could have no
anſwer

answer from them. I perceived they would have come in by force, for they pushed hard at the doore. Whereupon I tooke suddenly the sheets from off my bed, tying them with a strong knot together, and with another to a bar of the window, making my selfe ready to fall down by them to the ground, and so to flie in the dark night, if they had uied violence to come in. The sheets being thus prepared, and they still at the doore thrusting without any word from them, I thought by calling and crying out aloud I might affright them away. Wherefore with a shrill voice I called first to my servants, who were but boyes, and lay at the further end of a long gallery, then I cried out to the neighbouring houses to come and assist me against theeves. The servants had heard the noise and were awake, who presently at my call came out; and with their coming my enemies ran down the staires, and were heard no more that night. But I perceiving which way their spight and malice was bent, thought fit to be no more alone in the night, with boyes only in so great a house as was that of *Mixco*; whereupon the next day I sent for my trusty friend *Miguel Dalva* who was able to fight alone with any halfe dozen of *Indians*, wishing him to bring with him what weapons he could get for my defence. I kept him with me a fortnight; and the next Sabbath I gave warning in the Church, that whosoever came in the night to my house to affright me, or to doe me any other mischief should looke to him selfe, for that I had weapons both offensive and defensive. Though for a while I heard no more of them, yet they desited not altogether from their evill and malicious intents; for, knowing that *Miguel Dalva* did not lie in the same chamber with me, a fortnight after (I being till about midnight with my candle studying) they came up the staires so softly that I heard them not; but the *Black-more* being awake it seems perceived that they were coming up, and softly arose up from a long table where he lay upon a Mat, and tooké in his hand a couple of brick-bats of many which lay under the table for a worke which I had in hand, and as he opened the dore made a little noise, which was to them an item to flie down the staires, and to run (as they thought) for their lives. The *Black-more* did also run after them, and finding they had got too much advantage of him, and not knowing which way they might take, sent after them with a fury his two brick-bats, wherewith he supposed he did hit one of them, for the next day walking about the Towne he met with one of the *Fuentes* having a cap on his head, and he inquired of some *Indians* what he ailed, and he understood by them that his head was broke, but how they knew not. They perceiving that I was thus guarded by *Miguel Dalva*, desited from that time from coming any more in the night unto my house, but yet desited not from their spight and malice and from acting mischief against me. For a month after when I thought that all had been forgotten, and they seemed outwardly to be kind and courteous, there came a messenger to me from the oldest of them, named *Pablo de Fuentes*, to tel me that he was very sick, and like to die, and desired me to goe to comfort and instruct him in the truth, for that he truly desired to be converted. I conceived very great joy at this newes, and doubted not of the truth and certainty of it, and prayed to God to direct me in the conversion of that soul; and so with haile and good zeal, I went unto his house, where soon my joy and comfort was turned into bitterneffe; for when I came to the dore of his house, and was with one step entred, I found all the brothers of *Pablo Fuentes*, and some others who were suspected to be Idolaters, sitting round the room, and missing *Pablo*, I withdrew my foot a litle, and asked them where he was, mistrusting somewhat to see them there all gathered together; but when I perceived that they stood not up, nor answered me a word, nor so much as tooke off their hats to me, then I began to fear indeed, and to suspect some treachery; and so I turned back resolving to goe home again. But no sooner was I turned, but behold *Pablo Fuentes* (who by his message had feigned both sicknesse and conversion, came from behind his house with a cudgell in his hand, lifting it up to strike at me. Had I not caught hold of his stick with both my hands, and prevented the intended blow, certainly he had struck me down. But whilst he and I were striving for the stick who should be Master of it, the rest of the *Indians* who were sitting in the house, came out into the yard (which being a publick place was more comfort to me then if they had compassed me about within the house) and beset me round, some pulling mee one way, some another, tearing my clothes in two or three places, another to make me let goe my hand from the stick with a knife run me into the hand (which to this day a small scar doth witnesse) and certainly had we not been in a publick

like yard, that party would also have run his knife into my sides; another seeing I would not let goe the stick, tooke hold of it with *Pablo* and both together thrust it against my mouth, and with such strength that they broke some of my teeth, and filled my mouth with goat blood, with which blow I fell, but soone recovered my selfe and arose, they laughing at me, but not daring to doe me any more harme for feare they should be seen, as God would have seen what already they had done; for a *Mulatta* slave to a *Spaniard* in the valley, at that very time when I was down and rising passed by, and hearing me cry out for help to the neighbours (who lived somewhat far off that might helpe and succour me, for all the houses thereabouts were of the brothers the *Fuertes*) came into the yard, and seeing me all in blood thought I had been mortally wounded, and calling them murderers ran along the street crying murder, murder in *Pablo Fuentes* his yard, till she came to the Market place and Town-house, where she found the *Maiores* and *Jurats* sitting, & a couple of *Spaniards*, who when they heard of my danger, with drawn swords came presently running with all the officers of Justice to the yard of *Pablo Fuentes* to aid and assist me; but in the mean while the *Idolaters* perceiving the outcry of the *Mulatta*, began to fall away and to hide themselves, *Pablo Fuentes* going to shut up his house also to absent himselfe, I held him hard to it, striving with him that he might not escape away till some help came unto me. The *Spaniards* when they came and saw me all in a blood, made furiously to *Pablo Fuentes* with their naked swords, whom I stopped desiring them not to hurt him, lest what harme they did unto him should be imputed unto me. I wished the Justice not to feare him though he were a rich *Indian*, and as they would answer before the President of *Guatemala* to lay hold of him, and to carry him to prison, which they presently performed. I made the *Spaniards* and the *Mulatta* to witness under writing by way of information what they had seen, what blood about my clothes, what wound in my hand, what blow in my mouth they had found, and sent with speed to the President of *Guatemala* this their information. The businessse was soon noised about the valley, whereupon most of the *Spaniards* came to offer their help and aid unto me; *Miguel Dalva* also chancing to be neer at a *Spaniards* house in the same valley came with the rest, who would have done that night some mischief among the *Indians* if I had not prevented them. I desired them to depart and goe home to their houses, telling them I feared nothing, and that *Miguel Dalva* his company would be guard enough unto me. But they would by no meanes yeeld unto this, saying that night might prove more dangerous unto me then I imagined, and that I needed a stronger guard then of one man alone, for they conceived that the *Idolaters* knowing what already they had done, and fearing what grievous punishment might be inflicted upon them from the President of *Guatemala*, seeing themselves lost and undone men might desperately that night rescue their brother out of prison, and attempt some mischief against me, and so flie away. Which I could not be brought to fear, or to beleieve any such thing of their cowardly spirits, nor that they would flie away for that they had houses and land there in and about the Towne, yet I was willing for one night to yeeld to have a stronger guard of *Spaniards* then at other times I had had with the Blackmore *Miguel Dalva* alone. After supper they kept watch about my house till such time as they perceived all was still, and the *Indians* a bed, and then they set a watch about the prison that *Pablo Fuentes* might not be taken out; and after this (pretending that they were in danger as well as I being but about a dozen, if the Towne should all rise and mutiny by the suggestion of the *Idolaters*, who most of them were rich and powerfull with the rest, which yet I feared not) they would needs goe and raise up the two *Alcaldes* or *Maiors* alone, with two more petty officers to make search about the Town for the rest of the *Fuertes* and other known *Idolaters*, that being found they might secure them in the prison to appear at *Guatemala*, and prevented from doing any mischief either that night, or at any other time. With this stir which they made, and their care of mee, they suffered me not to take any rest that night; but went and called up the *Alcaldes* and two officers and brought them to my house, desiring me to signifie unto them, how fit and necessary it was to search for the rest of the *Indians*. The poore *Alcaldes* trembled to see so many *Spaniards* at that time in my house with naked swords, and durst not but doe what they thought best to be done, and so from my house about midnight they walked about the Towne, searching such houses as they most suspected might conceale any of the *Fuertes*, or of the rest that had been that day in the rebellion and mutiny

mutiny against mee. They could find none at home, till at last coming to the house of one *Lorenzo Fuentes*, one of the brothers, they found all that had been in the conspiracy against mee, gathered together drinking and quaffing. The house being beset there was no flying nor escaping, and seeing the *Spaniards* naked swords, they durst not rebell, who doubtlesse (as wee were afterwards informed) would have made a great stirre in the Town that night, and were met together to rescue *Pablo* their brother, and to doe mee some mischief and flye, not knowing that I was so strongly manned and guarded by the *Spaniards*. There were ten of them, and were presently without any noise in the Town carried to the Prison, and there shut up, and guarded by the *Spaniards*.

In the morning the President of *Guatemala* (who then was *Don Juan de Guzman*, a Religious Governour) taking into his consideration what the day before I had writ unto him, and judging my danger to bee great, sent a *Spanish* Alguazile, or Officer of Justice with a very large Commission to bring prisoners to the City all those *Indians* who the day before had been in rebellion against mee, and in case they could not bee found, then to seize upon what goods soever of theirs could be found in *Adixco*. But with the diligence of the *Spaniards* the night before they were all in a readinesse for him, and paying the Alguazile first his charges (which hee demanded as hee listed) and bearing the charges of *Miguel Dava*, and two or three more *Spaniards*, who were commanded in the Kings Name to bee aiding and assisting the Officer for the safer carrying them to *Guatemala*, they were horsed and had away that day to the President, who committed them close Prisoners, and afterwards commanded them to be whipped about the streets, banished two of them from *Mixco* to the Golf of *St. Thomas de Castilia*, and would have banished them all, had they not humbled themselves, and desired mee to intercede for them, promising to amend their lives, and to make mee great satisfaction, if they might return again to their Town, and that if ever more they did stirre against mee, they would yeld to be hanged and to lose all their goods. With this the President (fining them yet to pay twenty Crowns a peece to the Church to be employed in what I should think fittest) sent them back; who, as they had promised, came unto mee, and humbled themselves before mee with much weeping, with many expressions, shewing their sorrow from their hearts for what they had done, casting all upon the Devill, whom they confessed had been great with them in tempting them, whom also now they did abjure and renounce, promising to live as good Christians, and never more to worship any God but one. I was very much taken with their deepe sorrow expressed with many tears, and indeavoured to instruct them in the true knowledge of Christ, whom now I found they were very willing to embrace. I lived not very long after in that Towne; but for the time I did continue in it, I found a great change and alteration in their lives, which truly made mee apt to judge that their repentance was unsained. And these former particulars of a few *Indians* of those two Towns, I have not here inserted to bring an aspersion upon all that Nation, (which I doe very much affect, and would willingly spend the best drops of blood in my veins to doe them good, and to save their soules) but to cause rather pity and commiseration towards them, who after so many yeers preaching have been made as yet but formall and outward Christians, and by the many Saints of wood, which they have been taught to worship by the Preist, have rather been inclined to the superstition and Idolatry of their Forefathers, and to trust to living Creatures, and bow to inanimate stocks and stones, which they daily see performed publicly in their Churches. Certainly they are of a good and flexible nature, and (were those Idols of Saints statues removed from their eyes) might bee brought easily to worship one onely God; and whereas they so willingly lavish out their small meanes and what they labour for, in offerings to the Preists and to their Saints, and in maintaining Lazy singing Lubbars, they without doubt would bee free enough to true Ministers of Gods Word, who should venture their lives to beat down those false Gods, and set up *Jesus Christ*, and him that sent him into the World to save such as truly beleve in him.

The yeere that this stirre happened in *Mixco*, I received from *Rome* from the General of the Dominicans Order, License to come home to *England*; at which I rejoiced much, for now I was even weary with living among the *Indians*, & grieved to see the little fruit I reaped amongst them, and that for feare of the Inquisition I durst not preach a new Gospell unto them, which might make them true, call, and inward Christians;

and

and lastly, for that I perceived that *Antonio Mendez de Satemayor* (who was Lord of the Towne of *Mixco*) did stomack me for having caused two of his Towne to bee banished, and publikely affronted the *Fuentes* for heir Idolatry, which hee thought was a great aspersion laid upon his *Indians*.

All which well considered I writ unto the Provinciall (who was then in *Chiapa*) of my desire to returne home to mine owne Countrey, for the which I had a licence sent unto me from *Rome*. But he having heard of what good I had done in the Town of *Mixco*, in reducing some Idolaters, burning their idol, and venturing my life in so good a cause; and also for the perfect knowledge which now I had of the *Poconchi* tongue, would by no means yeeld that I should go, but with fair and flattering words encouraged me to stay, where he doubted not, but I did, and I might yet doe God much more good service; and that he might the better worke upon me, he sent a Patent of Vicar of the Towne and Cloister of *Amatitlan*, where at the present there was a new Cloister a building to separate all that valley from the Cloister of *Guatemala*. He desired me to accept of that small preferment, not doubting but that I speaking so well the *Indian* language might prevaile much in that place, and better then another, further the building of that new Cloister; which worke would be a good step for him to advance me afterwards to some better preferment. Although I regarded neither that present Superiority, nor any better honour which might afterwards ensue unto me, I thought the time which God had appointed for my returning to *England* was not yet come; for that if the Provinciall, and with him the President of *Guatemala* (for so much I conjectured out of the Provincials letter) should both oppose and hinder my departure from that Countrey, it would be very hard for me to take my journey any way, and not be discovered and brought back. Whereupon I resolved to stay the Provincials coming to *Guatemala*, and there to confer with him face to face, and to shew him some reasons that moved me to leave that Countrey, and to seek againe mine owne wherein I was borne. So for the present I accepted of the Towne of *Amatitlan*, where I had more occasions of getting money than in the other two, where I had lived five full yeers; for albeit that Towne alone was bigger then both *Mixco* and *Pimola* together, and the Church fuller of Saints pictures and statues, and very many Confraternities and Sodalties belonged unto it; besides this from without the Towne I had great comings in from the Ingenio of Sugar, which I related before should close unto that Towne, from whence I had dayly offerings from the *Black mores* and *Spaniards* that lived in it; and besides this I had under my charge another lesser Towne called *St. Christoval de Amatitlan*, standing two leagues from great *Amatitlan*. This Town of *St. Christoval*, or *St. Christopber*, is called properly in that language, *Palinba, ha*, signifying water, and *Pali*, to stand upright, and is compounded of two words, which expresse water standing upright; for the Towne standeth on the back side of the Vulcan of water, which looketh over *Guatemala*, and on this side sendeth forth many fountaines, but especially spouteth forth from a high rock a stream of water, which as it falleth from high with a great noise and down-fall, the rocke standing upright over the bottom where it falleth, and causeth a most pleasant stream by the Townes side, it hath moved the *Indians* to call their Towne, *Palinba*, from the high and upright standing rock, from whence the water falleth. In this Towne there are many rich *Indians*, who trade in the coast of the South sea; the Towne is as an harbour shadowed with many fruitfull trees; but the chief fruit here is the Pinna, which groweth in every *Indians* yard, and with the neer nesse of the Ingenio of Sugar, are by the *Spaniards* thereabouts much made up in Preserves, some whole, some in slices, which is the daintiest and most luscious Preserve that I ever did eat in that Countrey. The *Indians* of this Towne get much by boards of Cedar, which they cut out of many Cedar-trees, which grow on that side of the Vulcan, which they sell to *Guatemala* and all about the Countrey for new buildings.

Between great *Amatitlan* and this Town the way is plain, and lieth under a Vulcan of fire, which formerly was wont to smooke as much as that of *Guatemala*, but having formerly burst out at the top, and there opened a great mouth, & cast down to the bottom mighty stones (which to this day are to be seen) it hath not since been any waies troublesome unto the Countrey. In this way there was in my time a new Trapiche of Sugar erecting up by one *John Baptista* of *Guatemala*, which was thought would prove very usefull, and profitable unto the foresaid City. I had yet for the time that I lived in

in *Amatitlan* another very little village at my charge, called *Pampichi* at the bottome of a high mountaine on the other side of the lake over againſt, which was but a Chappell of eaſe unto great *Amatitlan*, unto which I went not above once in a quarter of a yeer, and that for paſtime and recreation; for this village is well in that language a compound alſo of *Pam*, in, and *Picbi*, flowers, for that it ſtandeth compaſſed about with flowers, which make it very pleaſant, and the boats or Canoa's which doe conſtantly ſtand neer the doores of the houſes, invites to much pleaſure of fiſhing and rowing about the lake.

And thus whilſt I lived in *Amatitlan* I had the choice of three places wherein to recreate my ſelfe, and becauſe the charge of many ſoules lay in my hands, I had one conſtantly to helpe me. The Towne of *Amatitlan* was as the Court in reſpect of the reſt, where nothing was wanting that might recreate the mind and ſatiſſie the body with variety and change of ſuſtenance, both for fiſh and fleſh. Yet the great care that did lie upon me in the worke and building of the Cloiſter, made me very ſoone weary of living in that great and pleaſant Towne; for ſometimes I had thirty, ſometimes twenty, ſometimes fewer, and ſometimes fourty worke-men to looke unto, and to pay wages to on Saturday nights, which I found wearied much my braine, and hindered my ſtudies, and was beſides a worke which I delighted not in, nor had any hopes ever to enjoy it. And therefore after the firſt yeer that I had been there I betooke my ſelfe unto the Provinciaſl, who was in *Guatemala*, and againe earnestly beſought him to perſue the Licence which I had from *Rome* to goe to *England* mine owne Country for to preach there (for that was the chiefe ground of letting me goe home, as the Generall largely expreſſed) where I doubted not but I might doe God great ſervice, and in Conſcience I told him I thought I was bound to employ what parts God had beſtowed upon me, rather upon my own Countrymen, then upon *Indians* and ſtrangers. The Provinciaſl replied unto me that my Country men were Heretickes, and when I came amongſt them they would hang me up. I told him, I hoped better things of them, and that I would not behave my ſelfe among them ſo as to deſerve hanging, not daring to tell him what was in my heart concerning points of Religion. After a long diſcourſe I found the Provinciaſl inexorable, and haſte angry, telling me that he and that whole Province had caſt their eyes upon me, and honoured me, and were ready and willing to promote me further, and that I would ſhew my ſelfe very ungratefull unto them, if I ſhould forſake them for my owne nation and people, whom I had not knowne from my young and tender age. I perceived there was no more to be ſaid, and all would be in vaine, and ſo reſolved to take my beſt opportunity, and with my Licence from *Rome* to come away unknowne unto him. But for the preſent I humbly beſeeched him to remove me from *Amatitlan*, for that I found my ſelfe unable to undergoe that great charge, and too weake for that ſtrong worke, that was then building. With much adoe he would be brought to this, alleading what an honour it was to be a Founder and builder of a new Cloiſter, in whoſe walls my very name would be engraven to poſterity, all which I told him I regarded not, but eſteemed more of my health and a quiet mind, then of ſuch preferments and vanities. Upon which at laſt he condeſcended to my requeſt, and gave me order to goe to *Petapa*, and that the Vicar of *Petapa* ſhould goe to finiſh the worke of *Amatitlan*. In *Petapa* I lived above a twelve moneth, with great eaſe, pleaſure and content for all things worldly and outward; but within I had ſtill a worne of Conſcience, gnawing this gourd that ſhadowed and delighted me with worldly contentment. Here I grew more and more troubled concerning ſome points of Religion, dayly wiſhing with *David*, that I had the wings of a Dove, that I might ſie from that place of dayly Idolatry into *England*, and be at reſt. I reſolved therefore to put on a good courage, and relie wholly upon my God, knowing that the journey was hard and dangerous, and might bring ſhame and trouble unto me, if I ſhould be taken in the way flying and brought back to *Guatemala*; here I weighed the affliction and reproach which might enſue unto me, after ſo much honor, pleaſure, and wealth which I had enjoyed for about twelve yeers in that Countrey; but in another balance of better conſideration, I weighed the trouble of a wounded Conſcience, and the ſpirituall joy and comfort that I might enjoy at home with the people of God, and ſo reſolutely concluded upon that place of *Heb.* 11. 25, 26, 27. with *Moſes*, to chooſe rather to ſuffer affliction with the people of God (who as *Paul* well obſerveth, *1 Theſ.* 3. 3. are appointed thereunto; and again *Phil.*

1. 29. unto whom it is given in the behalfe of Christ, not onely to beleve in him, but also to suffer for his sake) then to enjoy the pleasures of sinne for a season; esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches then the treasures in Egypt. So for faith and a safeconscience I now purposed likewise with *Moses* to forsake Egypt, not fearing the wrath of the President the Kings owne Deputy, nor of the Provinciaall, and my best friends; but to indure all this (if I should be taken) as seeing him who is invincible. I thought this was a businesse not to be conferred with flesh and blood, lest the best friend knowing of it should betray me; yet on the other side, I thought it hard to lie alone without some friend for the first two or three daies journey; and besides having many things to sell away to make mony of, I thought I were better to imploy some trusty friend, then to doe all alone. I thought of none fitter then *Miguel Dalva*, whom by long experience I knew to be true and trusty, and that a small mony matter would content him; whom I sent for to *Pinola*, and charging him with secrecy, I told him I had a journey for my conscience sake to make to *Rome* (I would not tell him that I intended *England*, lest the good old *Blackmore* should grieve thinking never more to see me; and for the love he bare me, and interest he had many times from me, he should by discovering my intent, seek to stop me) which I would have none to know of but himselfe, not doubting buttoreturne againe, as he knew many had taken the like journey, and returned within two yeers.

The *Blackmore* offered himselfe to goe with me, which I refused, telling him that the seas would be too hard for his old age to endure, and that as a *Blackmore* in foraine Countries he might be stopped and apprehended for a fugitive; which reason he liked well, and offered himselfe to goe with mee as farre as the sea side; for which I thanked him and employed to sell me away some Mules, Wheat, and Maiz which I had, and what else might well passe through his hands. As for many rich pictures which hung in my chamber, I thought the Towne of *Petapa* would buy them for their Church, and propounded it unto the Governour, who willingly accepted of them. Most of my bookes, chests, cabinets, quilts, and many good peices of household-stuffe, by the paines and indultry of *Miguel* (whom I kept with me for the space of two moneths before I came away) I sold to *Guatemala*, reserving onely two *Petaca's* or leatherne chests, with some bookes and a quilt for my journey. When I had sold all that I intended, I found I had in *Spanishe* mony neer nine thousand peeces of eight, which I had got in twelve yeers that I lived in that Country. So much mony I thought would be too combersome for a long journey; whereupon I turned above four thousand of them into pearles and some pretious stones, which might make my carriage the lighter; the rest I laid up some in bags, some I sowed into my quilt, intending in the way to turne them into *Spanishe* Pistols. Thus the chiefe provision being made of mony, I tooke care for *Chocolatte* and some *Conserve*s for the way, which were soon provided. Now because I considered that my flight the first week must be with speed, and that my chests could not poss day and night as my selfe intended to doe; I thought of sending my carriage four dayes at least before me; and not daring to trust any *Indian* of *Petapa*, I sent to *Mixco* for one speciall *Indian* friend whom I had there, who knew the way that I was to travaile very well; to whom I opened my mind, and offered what mony I knew would well content him, and at midnight sent him away with two Mules, one for himselfe, and another for my chests, wishing him to keep on travelling towards *St. Miguel*, or *Nicaragua* till I overtooke him. I gave him the advantage of four daies and nights, and then resolutely with my good *Blackmore* in my company leaving the key of my chamber in my doore, and nothing but old papers within, when all the *Indians* where fast sleep, I had adieu unto *Petapa*, and to the whole valley, and to all my friends throughout *America*.

CHAP. XXI.

Shewing my journey from the Towne of Petapa, into England; and some chiefe passages in the way.

THe chiefe thing which troubled me in my resolved purpose to come home, was the choice of the safest way, which made me utterly forsake the Gulte (though the easiest way of all, and that sea neereſt to the place where I lived) for that I knew I should meet there with many of my acquaintance, and the setting out of the ships was so uncertain, that before they departed, order might come from *Guatemala* to stop me; if I should go by land through *Gomajagua* to *Truxillo*, and there wait for the ships, likewise I feared lest the Governour of that place by some item from the President of *Guatemala* might examine me, and send me backe, and that the Masters of the ships might have charge given them not to receive me into their ships. If I should goe backe to *Mexico* and *Vera Cruz*, then I called to mind, how I was troubled in that long journey, when I came first to *Chiapa* in company of friends, and that now alone I should certainly be much put to it, for I would carry *Miguel Dalva* so far by land with me. Wherefore rejecting these three wayes, I chose the fourth, which was by *Nicaragua* and the Lake of *Granada*; and therefore I deferred my journey till the week after *Christmas*, knowing that the time of the frigats setting out from that lake to the *Havana* was commonly after the middle of *January*, or at *Candlemas* at the furthest, whither I hoped to reach in very good time. Now that I might by no means be suspected to have taken this way; before I went I left by the hand of *Miguel Dalva* a letter to a friend of his to be delivered to the Provinciall in *Guatemala*, foure dayes after my departure, wherein I kindly tooke my leave of him, desiring him not to blame me nor to seek after me; and whereas I had a sufficient Licence from *Rome*, and could not get his, that I thought I might with a safe Conscience goe where I was born, leaving Linguists enough to supply my place amongst the *Indians*. And because he should not make enquiry after me by *Nicaragua*, I dated and subscribed my letter to him from the Towne of *St. Antonio Sudamapeques*, which was the way to *Mexico* and quite contrary to *Nicaragua*.

The next day after *Twelfsib* day, being the seventh of *January*, 1637. at midnight I set out of *Petapa* upon a luty Mule (which afterwards in the way I sold for fourscore peeces of eight) with *Miguel Dalva* alone; and the first part of the way being very hilly we could not goe so fast as our hearts would have posted; for it was breake of day before we could get to the top of the mountaine, which is called *Serro Redondo*, or the round hill; which is much mentioned in that Countrey, for the good pasture there which serveth for the Cattell and Sheep, when the valleys below are burnt and no grasing left for Beasts. This hill is also a great refuge to Travellers, for there they find good entertainment in a *Venta*, where wine and provision is sold, and is a great Lodge, for to lay up dry what carriages they bring; there is besides one of the best *Eilancia's* or farms of Cattell in the Countrey, where of Goats and Ewes milke is made the best cheefe thereabouts. This round hill or mountaine is five leagues from *Petapa*, where I feared I might meet with some people of *Petapa*, and therefore the day now dawning I made haste by it, leaving in the lodge asleep many *Indians*, who attended on two *Spanish* Requa's of Mules, which that day were to goe to *Petapa*; foure leagues further from this *Serro Redondo* is a Towne of *Indians* called *Los Escalvos*, or the Slaves, not that now they are more slaves then the rest of the *Indians*, but because in the old time of this Towne were more slaves then any other, for from *Amatitlan* (which is so called from *Amat*, which in the *Mexican* tongue signifieth Letter, and *Itlan* which signifieth Towne, for that it was the Towne of Letters as some say, for a rine of a tree, whereon they were wont formerly to write and expresse their minds, or because it was the place whither from all parts letters were sent to be carried about the Countrey, and to

to Peru) these *Indians* of the Towne of *Esclavo's* or slaves, were commanded as slaves to goe all about the Countrey with letters, or whatsoever else they should be charged with; and they were bound constantly to send every week so many of their Towne (as were appointed) unto *Amatitan*, there to wait and attend the pleasure of that Towne for the conveying of letters, or any carriages to other parts.

This Towne of *los Esclavos* standeth in a bottome by a river, over the which the *Spaniards* have built a very strong stone Bridge to goe in and out of the Town, for otherwise with mules there is no passing by reason of the violent and rapid streame of the water, and many rocks in the River, from which the water falleth down with great force. From this Town (where wee onely stayed to drink a cup of Chocolate and to bait our mules) wee went on that day to *Aguachapa*, being ten leagues further, and not farre from the South Sea, and the port called *De la Trinidad*; whither wee came towards Evening, having that day and part of the night travelled about threescore *English* miles up hills, and upon stony wayes from the *Esclavo's* unto this Town, which is much mentioned in that Countrey for two things. The one is for the earthen ware which is made there (as some think) exceeding that of *Mexco*. The other is for a place within a mile and a halfe from the Town, which the *Spaniards* doe credibly report and beleve to be a mouth of hell. For out of it there is constantly ascending a thick black smoak smelling of Brimstone, with some flashes now and then of fire; the earth from whence this smoak ariseth is not high, but low. None ever durst draw nigh to find out the truth and ground of it; for those that have attempted to doe it, have been stricken down to the ground and like to lose their lives. A friend of mine a Fryer (whom I thought verily I might beleve) upon his oath affirmed unto me, that travelling that way with a Provinciaall hee resolved to goe unto the place, and satisfie himselfe of the ground and cause of the strange talke which was every where about the Countrey concerning that smoke. He went within a quarter of a mile of it, and presently, hee said, he heard a hideous noise, which together with the stench of the fiery smoke and brimstone, struck him into such a fear that he was like to fall to the ground, and retiring himself back with all speed was taken with a burning Feaver, which was like to cost him his life. Others report that drawing neer unto it, they have heard great cries as it were of men and women in torment, noise of iron, of chains, and the like, which (how simply I leave it to my Judicious Reader) maketh them beleve that it is a mouth of hell. Of my knowledge I will say no more, but that I saw the smoke, and asked the *Indians* what was the cause of it; and if ever they had been neer unto it? And they answered mee, that they could not imagine what might bee the cause of it, neither durst they draw nigh unto it; and that they had seen Travellers, attempting to goe neere it, and that they were all stricken either to the ground, or with some suddaine amazement, or Feaver. I told them that I would walke thither my self, and they desired mee that I would not, if I loved my life. It was not yet for all this report the feare of being so neer the *Spaniards* hell (as they call it) that made me haste with speed out of that Town, but fear of some messenger that might come after mee to stop my journey. For at midnight I departed from thence, and went to breake my fall to a great Town called *Chalchuspan*, where the *Indians* made very much of mee, being *Pocomanes*, who spake the *Pocomchi* or *Pocoman* tongue which I had learned. They would willingly have had me to stay with them and preach unto them the next Sabbath, which I would have done, had not a better designe called upon mee to make halte.

Here I was troubled, how I should get through *St. Salvador*, which was a City of *Spaniards*, and wherein there was a Cloister of Dominicans, whom I feared most of all, because I was known by some of them. My resolution was therefore when I came neere unto the City, to turn out of my way to a *Spaniards* Farm as if I had lost my way, and there to delay the time till Evening in drinking Chocolate, discoursing, and baiting my mules well, that so I might travell all that night, and bee out of the reach of that City, and Fryers (who lived in *Indian* Towns about it) the next morning, early. This City of *St. Salvador* is poore, not much bigger then *Chiapa*, and is governed by a *Spanish* Governour. It standeth forty leagues at least from *Guatemala*, and towards the North Sea side, is compassed with very high mountaines, which are called *Chuntales*, where the *Indians* are very poore. In the bottome where the City standeth there are some *Trabiches* of Sugar, some Indigo made, but the chief Farmes are

Estancia of Cattell. Towards Evening I departed from that Farm where I had well refreshed my selfe and my Mule, and about eight of the clock I rid through the City not being known by any body. My purpose was to bee the next morning at a great River, called *Rio de Lempa*, some ten leagues from *St. Salvador*, for within two leagues of it there lived in an *Indian* Town a Fryer belonging to the Cloister of *St. Salvador* who knew mee very well. But such haste I made that before break of the day I passed through that Town, and before seven of the clock I was at the River, where I found my *Indian* of *Mixco* ready to passe over with my carriage, who that morning by three of the clock had set out of that Town two leagues off. I was not a little glad to have overtaken my Chests, wherein was most of my treasure. There I sat down a while by the River whilst my mules grazed, and my *Indian* struck fire and made me Chocolate. This River of *Lempa* is held the broadest, and biggest in all the Jurisdiction belonging unto *Guatemala*; there are constantly two Ferry Boats to passe over the Travellers, and their Requa^e of Mules. This River is privileged in this manner, that if a man commit any hainous crime or murder on this side of *Guatemala*, and *San Salvador*, or on the other side of *St. Miguel*, or *Nicaragua*, if hee can flie to get over this River, he is free as long as hee liveth on the other side, and no Justice on that side whither hee is escaped can question or trouble him for the murder committed. So likewise for Debts hee cannot bee arrested. Though I thanked God I neither fled for the one, or for the other, yet it was my comfort that I was now going over to a privileged Country, where I hoped I should bee free and sure, and that if any one did come after mee, hee would goe no further then to the River of *Lempa*. My Blackmore did much laugh at this my conceit, and warranted mee that all would doe well. Wee Ferried safely over the River; and from thence went in company with my *Indian* to a little small Towne of *Indians* two leagues off, where wee made the best dinner that we had done from the Towne of *Petapa*, and willingly gave rest to all our mules till foure of the clocke in the afternoon; at which time wee set forth to another small Town little above two leagues off, through a plain, sandy, and Champaigne Country. The next day wee had but ten leagues to travaile to a Town called *St. Miguel*, which belongeth unto *Spaniards*, and though it bee not a City, yet is as bigge almost as *San Salvador*, and hath a *Spanissh* Governour; in it there is one Cloister of Nuns, and another of Mercenarian Fryers, who welcomed mee unto their Cloister; for here I began to shew my face, and to think of selling away the Mule I rid on, being resolved from hence to goe by water or an Arm of the Sea, to a Town in *Nicaragua* called *La Vieja*. I would here have dismissed my *Indian*, but hee was loth to leave me untill I got to *Granada*, where hee desired to see mee shipped. I refused not his kind offer, because I knew hee was truity and had brought my Chests well thither, and knew well the way to *Granada*. So I sent him by land to *Realejo*, or to *La Vieja*, which stand very neere together and thirty leagues by land from *St. Miguel*, and my self stayed that day and till the next day at noon in that Town, where I sold the mule, I rid on, because I knew that from *Realejo* to *Granada* I could have of the *Indians* a Mule for nothing for a dayes journey. My Blackmores mule I sent also by land with the *Indian*, and the next day went to the Gulfe, being three or foure miles from *St. Miguel*, where that afternoon I tooke Boat with many other passengers, and the next morning by eight in the morning was at *La Vieja*, which journey by land would have taken me up neere three dayes. The next day my *Indian* came at night, and wee went to *Realejo*, (as I have observed before) a Haven very weak and unfortified on the South Sea; where if I would have stayed one fortnight I might have taken shipping for *Panama*, to goe from thence to *Portabelo*, and there stay for the Galeons from *Spain*. But I considered that the Galeons would not be here till *June* or *July*, and that so I should be at great charges in staying so long. But afterwards I wished I had accepted of that occasion, for I was at last forced to goe to *Panama*, and *Portabelo*. From hence to *Granada* I observed nothing, but the plainnesse and pleasantnesse of the way, which with the fruits and fertility of all things may well make *Nicaragua* the Paradise of *America*. Betweene *Realejo* and *Granada* standeth the City of *Leon*, neere unto a *Vulcan* of fire, which formerly burst out at the top, and did much hurt unto all the Country about; but since that it hath ceased, and now letteth the Inhabitants live without feare. Sometimes it smokes a little, which sheweth that as yet there is within some sulphurous substance.

Here it was that a Mercenarian Fryer thought to have discovered some great treasure, which

which might intich himselfe and all that Conatry, being fully perswaded that the mettall that burned within that *Vulkan* was Gold; whereupon hee caused a great Kettle to bee made, and hung at an iron chain to let it down from the top, thinking therewith to take up gold enough to make him Bishop and to enrich his poor kindred. But such was the power and strength of the fire within, that no sooner had hee let downe the Kettle, when it fell from the chain and from his hands being melted away.

This City of *Leon* is very curiously built, for the chief delight of the Inhabitants consisteth in their houses, and in the pleasure of the Country adjoining, and in the abundance of all things for the life of man, more then in any extraordinary riches, which there are not so much enjoyed, as in other parts of *America*. They are contented with fine gardens, with variety of singing birds, and parrets, with plenty of fowl and fiesh, which is cheap, and with gay houses, and so lead a delicious, lazy and idle life, not aspiring much to trade and traffique, though they have neer unto them the Lake, which commonly every yeere sendeth forth some Frigats to *Havana* by the North Sea, and *Realejo* on the South Sea, which to them might bee very commodious for any dealing and rich Trading in *Peru*, or to *Misco*, if their spirits would carry them so farre: The Gentlemen of this City are almost as vaine and phantassical as are those of *Chiapa*. And especially from the pleasure of this City, is all that Province of *Nicaragua*, called by the *Spaniards* *Mahomet's* Paradise. From hence the way is plain and Levell to *Granada*, whither I got safely and joyfully, hoping that now I had no more Journey to make by land, till I should land at *Dover* in *England*, and from thence post up to *London*. Two dayes after I had arrived at this place and rested my selfe, and enjoyed the pleasant prospect of the Lake, I began to think of dismissing my *Indian* and *Blackmore*. But true and faithfull *Miguel Dalsa* would by no means leave mee, till he saw me shipped; and that I had no more need of him by land; Likewise the *Indian* would willingly have stayed, but by no means I would permit him, for that I considered hee had a wife and children to look to at home. Hee was as willing to return a foot, as to ride, because hee would have mee sell my mules, and make what money I could of them; but I seeing the good nature of the *Indian*, would recompence his love with as much money as might bee more beneficiall to him, then a tired Mule; which might have dyed in the way under him, and left him on foot; so I gave him money enough to bear his charges home, and to hire Mules at his one pleasure, and some to spare, when he came home. The *Indian* with many teares falling from his eyes, saying, hee feared hee should never more see mee, tooke his leave of mee the third day after wee arrived at *Granada*. My *Blackmore* and I being left alone, first began to thinke of selling away the two Mules, which had brought thither the *Indian*, and my Chests; for which I got fourscore and ten peeces of eight after so long a journey, and thought they were well sold. I would have had *Miguel* have sold away that whereon hee rid; (which was his own) and offered to buy him another that might better carry him back; but the loving and carefull *Blackmore* would not suffer mee to bee at such charges, considering the long journey which I was to make. After this, wee hearing that the frigats were not like to depart in a fortnight, thought of viewing well that stately and pleasant Towne a day or two, and then to betake our selves to some neer *Indian* Town, where wee might bee hid, (left by the great resort of Requa's of Mules, which at that time brought Indigo and Cochinill from *Guatemala* to the Frigats, wee should bee discovered) and might now and then come to the Town to treat concerning my passing in one of the Frigats to the *Havana* or to *Caribagena*. What in that Town wee observed was, two Cloisters of Mercenarian and Franciscan Fryers, and one of Nuns, very rich; and one Parish Church, which was as a Cathedral, for the Bishop of *Leon* did more constantly reside there then in the City. The houses are fairer then those of *Leon*, and the Town of more Inhabitants, among whom there are some few Merchants of very great wealth, and many of inferiour degree very well to passe, who trade with *Caribagena*, *Guatemala*, *San Salvador*, and *Comayagua*, and some by the South sea to *Peru* and *Panama*. But at this time of the sending away the frigats, that Town is one of the wealthiest in all the North Tract of *America*; for the Merchants of *Guatemala* fearing to send all their goods by the Gulfe of *Honduras*, for that they have been often taken by the *Hollanders* between that and *Havana*, think it safer to send them by the frigats to *Caribagena*, which passage hath not been so much stopped by the *Hollanders* as the other. So likewise many times the Kings treasure, and revenues (when there is

any report of ships at sea, or about the Cape of *St. Anthony*) are this way by the Lake of *Granada* passed to *Caribagena*. That year that I was there, before I betooke my selfe to an *Indian* Towne, in one day there entred six *Requa's* (which were at least three hundred Mules) from *St. Salvador* and *Comayagua* onely, laden with nothing else but *Indigo*, *Cochinil* and *Hides*; and two dayes after from *Guatemala* came in three more, the one laden with silver (which was the Kings tribute from that Countrey; the other with *Sugar*, and the other with *Indigo*. The former *Requa's* I feared not; but the latter made me keep close within my lodging, lest going abroad, I should be knowne by some of those that came from *Guatemala*; who after they had delivered what they brought, presently departed, and with their departure set mee at liberty, who for their sakes was a voluntary prisoner within mine owne lodging. But fearing lest more of these *Requa's* might come and affright mee, I went to a Towne out of the rode, a league from *Granada*, and took my pleasure up and downe the Countrey where I was much feasted by the *Mercenarian* Friers, who enjoy most of those Towns. Amongst these I heard much of the passage in the frigots to *Caribagena*, which did not a little dishearten and discourage me. For although, whilst they saile upon the Lake, they goe securely and without trouble, yet when they fall from the Lake to the river (which there they call *El Desaguadero*) to goe out to the Sea, *hic labor, hoc opus est*, here is nothing but trouble, which sometimes makes that short voyage to last two moneths; for such is the fall of the waters in many places amongst the rockes, that many times they are forced to unlade the frigots, and lade them again with helpe of Mules which are there kept for that purpose, by a few *Indians* that live about the river, and have care of the Lodges made for to lay in the wares, whilst the frigots passe thorow those dangerous places to another Lodge, whither the wares are brought by Mules, and put againe into the frigots. Beside this trouble (which must needs be tedious to a passenger, to be thus stopped, who would willingly come soone to his journeyes end) the abundance of gnats is such, which maketh him to take no joy in his voiage, and the heat in some places so intolerable, that many doe die before they get out to the sea. Though all this was terrible to me to hear, yet I comforted my selfe that my life was in the hands of the Lord, and that the frigots did commonly every year passe that way, and seldome any were lost. I went now and then to *Granada* to bargain for my passage, and to know when the frigots would for certaine set out, and to provide my selfe of some dainties and *Chocolatte* for my journey, having agreed with a Master of a frigot for my diet at his table. The time was appointed within foure or five dayes; but suddainly all was crossed with a strict command from *Guatemala*, that the frigots should not goe out that year, because the President and whole Court was informed for certaine that some *English* or *Holland* ships was abroad at sea, and lay about the mouth of the river or *Desaguadero* waiting for the frigots of *Granada*, and that the said were sometimes lurking about the Islands of *St. John*, and *St. Catharine* (which then was our *Providence*) which made all the Merchants of the Countrey to feare and sweat with a cold sweat, and the President to be carefull for the Kings revenues, lest the losse of them should be imputed to his wilfull negligence, in stopping the frigots, whilst he might, and had warning given. This was but sad newes unto me, who knew not for the present, which way to dispose of my selfe. I began to thinke of the ship that was at *Realjeo* ready to set out to *Panama*, thinking that would now be my best course, but enquiring after it, I was for certaine informed by some Merchants that it was newly gone. Then my eyes looked upon *Comayagua* and *Truxillo*, and upon the ships of *Honduras*, but these were but vaine and troubled thoughts, arising from a perplexed heart, for the ships were also gone from thence, without some small vessell or frigot might be there with newes from *Havana* or *Caribagena* (for those places send often word and notice of what ships are abroad at sea) but this also was a meer chance, and not to be trusted unto, as my friends did advise, and counsell me. Whereupon my perplexity more and more increased; onely my comfort was that there were more passengers besides my selfe, who I knew must take some course, and whom I also resolved to follow by sea, or land. Amongst us all we were once resolving to hire a frigot to carry us onely to *Caribagena*, but this would not bee granted, for no body would hazard his vessel and life for our sakes. Whilst we were thus distressed and perplexed enquiring about *Granada* of the Merchants what course we might take to get to *Spaine* that year, or to meet with the *Havana* or *Caribagena*, one that wished us well, counselled

counsell'd us to goe to *Costarica*, where at *Caribago* we should be sure to hear of some vessels bound for *Portobelo*, either from the river called *de los Anzuelos*, or from the river called *Sucre*, from whence every yeer went out some small frigots to carry Meales; Bacon, Fowles, and other provision for the Galeons to *Portobelo*. This we thought was a hard and difficult, and of neere a hundred and fifty leagues, over mountaines and through deserts, where we should misse the pleasure, variety, and dainties of *Guatemala* and *Nicaragua*, and after all, this peradventure might misse of an opportunity of any frigot bound to *Portobelo*. Yet so unwilling were we all to returne to *Guatemala* from whence we came, that we would rather go forward, and undergoe any difficulties, so that at last we might find any shipping to convey us where we might meet with the Galeons, which we knew were not to come to *Portobelo*, till the month of *June* or *July*. We therefore agreed foure of us, three *Spaniards* and my selfe, to goe to *Costarica*, and there to trie our fortune. They had each of them (as my selfe had) carriage for one Mule, and none to ride on; but thought it their best way to buy each of them a Mule to carry them, which they hoped after their journey to sell againe at *Costarica*, and to get mony by them, and for their carriages to hire Mules and *Indians* from Towne to Towne, who also might serve to guide us through many dangerous places and passages, which we understood were in the way. Now I wished I had my Mule which I sold at *San Miguel*, or any one of the two which I sold before in *Granada*. But for my mony I doubted not, with the helpe of my *Blackmore*, but I should find one for my purpose. I furnished my selfe very speedily, for fifty peeces of eight, of one which I feared not would performe my journey. My good and trusty *Blackmore* would willingly have gone on wth me, and further round the world if I would have permitted him; but I would not; but (thanked him heartily for what he had done, and gave him money enough in his purse, and dismissed him) hoping that the company of the three *Spaniards* would be sufficient comfort unto me.

Thus with one *Indian* to guide us we set four of us out of *Granada*, enjoying for the two first daies more of the pleasure of that *Abomes* paradise *Nicaragua*, finding the way for the most part plain, the Townes pleasant, the Country shady, and every where fruits abounding. The second day after we set out, we were much affrighted with a huge and monitrous Calman or Crocodile, which having come out of the Lake (which we passed by) and lying crosse a puddle of water bathing himselfe, and waiting for some prey, as we perceived after, whom we not knowing well at the first, but thinking that it had been some tree that was felled or fallen, passed close by it; when on a sudden we knew the scales of the Cayman, and saw the monster stir and move, and set himself against us; wherewith we made halt from him; but he thinking to have made some of us his greedy prey, ran after us, which when we perceived, and that he was like to overtake us, we were much troubled, untill one of the *Spaniards*, who knew better the nature & quality of that beast than the rest, called upon us to turn on one side out of the way, and to ride on straight for a while, and then to turn on another side, and so to circumflex our way, which advice of his without doubt saved mine, or some of the others lives, for thus we wearied that mighty monster and escaped from him, who (had we rid out straightway) had certainly overtaken us, and killed some mule or man, for his straight forward flight was as swift as our Mules could run; but whilst he turned and wheeled about his heavy body, we got ground and advantage till we left him far behind us; and by this experience we came to know the nature and quality of that beast, whose greatnesse of body is no hinderance to run forward as swift as a Mule; but otherwise, as the Elephant once laid down is troubled to get up, so this monster is heavy and stiffe, and therefore much troubled to turne and wind about his body. We praised God who had that day delivered us, and riding for a while by the side of the lake, we were watchful that we might not fall again into the like danger. But the greatnesse of this lake of *Granada* may from hence be knowne, in that the second and third day of our journey, being at least threescore miles from whence we set out, we now and then found our way lying by it. After that wee had wholly lost the sight of it, we began to enter into rough and craggy wayes, declining more to the South then to the North sea. And in all the rest of our journey to *Caribago*; we observed nothing worth committing to posterity, but onely mighty woods and trees on the South sea side, very fit for to make strong ships, and many mountaines and desert places, where we lay sometimes two nights together, either in woods or open fields, far
from

from any Town or habitation of *Indians*, yet for our comfort in these so desert places we had still a guide with us, and found lodges, which by the command of the neerest Justices had been set up for such as travelled that way. We came at last through thousand dangers to the city of *Carthago*, which we found not to be so poor as in richer places, as *Guatemala* and *Nicaragua*; it was reported to be. For there we had occasion to inquire after some Merchants for exchange of gold and silver, and wee found that some were very rich, who traded by Land and Sea with *Panama*, and by Sea with *Portobelo*, *Carthagena*, and *Havana*, and from thence with *Spain*. This City may consist of foure hundred Families, and is governed by a *Spanish* Governour; It is a Bishops Sea, and hath in it three Cloisters, two of Fryers, and one of Nuns. Here wee began to enquire after that which had brought us through so many Mountaines, Woods and deserts, to wit, after some speedy occasion of shipping our selves for *Portobelo* or *Carthagena*; and according to our desires wee understood of one Frigate almost ready to set out from the River called *De los Anzuélos*, and another from the River *Suere*; and being well informed that *Suere* would be the best place for us to Travaile unto by reason of more provision in the way, more Towns of *Indians*, and Estancia's of *Spaniards*, we resolved within foure dayes after wee had rested in *Carthago*, to undertake a new journey towards the North Sea. Wee found that Country mountainous in many places, yet here and there some Valleys where was very good corn, *Spaniards* living in good Farmes, who as well as the *Indians* bred many hogs; but the Townes of *Indians* we found much unlike to those which wee had left behind in *Nicaragua* and *Guatemala*; and the people in curtesie and civility much differing from them, and of a rude and bold carriage and behaviour towards us; yet they are kept under by the *Spaniards*, as much as those whom I have formerly spoken of about *Guatemala*. Wee came in so good a time to the River *Suere*, that wee stayed there but three dayes in a *Spanish* Farm neere unto it, and departed.

The Master of the Frigate was exceeding glad of our company, and offered to carry mee for nothing, but for my prayers to God for him, and for a safe passage; which hee hoped would not be above three or four daies failing. What hee carried was nothing but some Hony, Hides, Bacon, meal and fowles. The greatest danger he told us of, was the setting out from the River, (which runs in some places with a very strong stream, is shallow and full of rocks in other places) till wee come forth to the maine Sea. Whither we got out safely and had not failed on above twenty leagues, when we discovered two ships making towards us; our hearts began to quake, and the Master himselfe of the Frigate wee perceived was not without feare, who suspected that they were *English*, or *Holland* Ships; wee had no guns nor weapons to fight with, save onely foure or five Muskets and halt a dozen Swords; wee thought the wings of our nimble Frigate might be our best comfort, and flying away our chiefest safety. But this comfort soon began to fail us, and our best safety was turned into neer approaching danger; for before wee could flie on five leagues towards *Portobel*, wee could from our Top Mast easily perceive the two Ships to be *Hollanders*, and too nimble for our little Vessell, which presently one of them (which being a Man of Warre, was too much and too strong for our weaknesse) fetcht up, and with a thundring Message made us strike Saile. Without any fighting wee durst not but yeeld, hoping for better mercy. But O what sad thoughts did hererun to and from my dejected heart, which was struck down lower then our Saile? How did I sometimes look upon Deaths frightening vilage? But if again I would comfort and incourage my selfe against this feare of Death, how then did I begin to see an end of all my hopes of ever more returning to my wished and desired Country? How did I see that my treasure of Pearles, pretious Stones, and peeces of Eight, and golden Pistols, which by singing I had got in twelve yeers space, now within one halfe houre ready to be lost with weeping, and become a sure prey to those who with as much ease as I got them, and with laughing were ready to spoile mee of all that with the sound of Flutes, Waits and Organs I had so long been hording up? Now I saw I must forcedly and fainedly offer up to a *Hollander* what superstitious, yea also forced and fained offerings of *Indians* to their Saints of *Mixes*, *Pinola*, *Amatitan* and *Petapa* had for a while enriched mee. My further thoughts were soone interrupted by the *Hollanders* who came aboard our Frigate with more speed then wee desired. Though their Swords, Muskets and Pistols did not a little terrifie, yet wee were somewhat comforted, when wee understood who was their chief Captaine and

and Commander, and hoped for more mercy from him, who had been born and brought up amongst *Spaniards*, then from the *Hollanders*, who as they were little bound unto the *Spanish* Nation for mercy, so did wee expect little from them. The Captain of this *Holland Ship* which took us was a *Mulatto*, born and bred in *Havana*, whose Mother I saw and spoke with afterwards that same yeer, when the *Galcons* struck into that Port to expect there the rest that were to come from *Vera Cruz*. This *Mulatto* for some wrongs which had been offered unto him from some commanding *Spaniards* in the *Havana*, ventured himself desperately in a boat out to the Sea, where were some *Holland Ships* waiting for a prize, and with Gods helpe getting unto them, yeelded himself to their mercy, which hee esteemed farre better then that of his own Countrymen, promising to serve them faithfully against his owne Nation, which had most injuriously and wrongfully abused, yea and (as I was afterwards informed) whipped him in the *Havana*.

This *Mulatto* proved so true and faithfull in his good services unto the *Hollanders*, that they esteemed much of him, married him to one of their Nation, and made him Captain of a Ship under that brave and gallant *Hollander* whom the *Spaniards* then so much feared, and named, *Pie de Palo*, or Woodden Leg. This famous *Mulatto* it was that with his Sea Souldiers boarded our Frigate, in the which hee had found little worth his labour, had it not been for the *Indians* offerings which I carryed with mee, of which I lost that day the worth of four thousand *Patacons* or peeces of eight in pearles, and pretious stones, and neer three thousand more in money. The other *Spaniards* lost some hundreds a peece, which was so rich a prize, that it made the *Hollanders* stomach loath the rest of our grosse provision of Bacon, Meale and Fowles, and our money tasted sweeter unto them, then the Hony which our Frigate also afforded them. Other things I had (as a Quilt to lie on, some Bookes, and *Lamina's*, which are pictures in brasse, and clothes) which I begged of that Noble Captaine the *Mulatto*, who considering my Orders and calling, gave mee them freely, and wished me to bee patient, saying that hee could doe no otherwise then he did with my mony and Pearles, and using that common Proverbe at Sea, *Oy por mi, manana por ti*, to day fortune hath been for mee, to morrow it may bee for thee: or to day I have got what to morrow I may lose again. Here I made use also of that common saying, that if gotten goods never thrive, and perceived it was the will of my heavenly Father to take from me what so unlawfully by superstitious and idolatrous Masses, by Offerings unto Idols and Statues of Saints I had got amongst the *Indians*. I offered in lieu of those former offerings my will unto my Lord Gods will, desiring him to grant mee patience to bear that great losse. I confesse, though it was very crose to flesh and blood, yet I found an inward spirituall strengthening from above, and to be very true what *Paul* writes to the *Hebrews* in the 12 Chapter, and Verse 11. saying, *No chastening for the present seemeth to bee joyous, but grievous; nevertheless afterward it yeeldeth the peaceable fruit of righteousness unto them which are exercised thereby*: for that very day I found my inward man quiet and peaceable with a full and totall submission unto the holy will of God, which I desired might bee done in earth, in the Sea, and performed and obeyed by me at that present, as it is alwayes done in heaven. And although this was my best and chief comfort, yet from the creature by the Creators permission I had also some comfort left in a few pistols, some single, some double, which I had sowed up in my Quilt (which the Captain restored unto mee, saying it was the bed I lay in) and in the doublet which I had at that present, which mounted to almost a thousand Crownes, and in their searching was not found out. After the Captain and Souldiers had well viewed their prize, they thought of refreshing their stomachs with some of our provision; the good Captaine made a stately dinner in our Frigate, and invited mee unto it, and knowing that I was going towards the *Havana*, besides many other brinde's or healths, hee drank one unto his mother, desiring mee to see her, and to remember him unto her, and how that for her sake hee had used mee well and courteously in what hee could; and further at Table hee said that for my sake hee would give us our Frigate that wee might return again to land, and that I might find out from thence some safer way and means to get to *Portobelo*, & to continue on my journey unto *Spain*. After dinner I conferred with the Captain alone, and told him that I was no *Spaniard*, but an *English* man born, shewing him the Licence which I had from *Rome* to

goe to *England*, and that therefore I hoped, not being of an enemy nation to the *Hollanders*, he would restore unto me what goods were mine. But all this was of little consequence with him, who had already taken possession of mine, and all other goods in the ship: he told me, I must suffer with those, amongst whom I was found, and that I might as well claime all the goods in the ship for mine. I desired him then to carry me along with him to *Holland*, that from thence I might get to *England*, which also he refused to doe, telling me that he went about from one place to another, and knew not when he should goe to *Holland*, and that he was daily ready to fight with any *Spanish* ship, and if he should fight with the *Spaniards* whilst I was in his ship, his souldiers in their hot blood might be ready to doe me a mischief, thinking I would doe them harm, if in fight they should be taken by the *Spaniards*. With these his answers I saw there was no hope of getting againe what now was lost, therefore (as before) I commended my selfe againe to Gods providence and protection. The Souldiers and Mariners of the *Holland* ship, made hast that afternoon, to unlode the goods of our Frigate into their Man of warre, which tooke them up that, and part of the next day, whilst we as prisoners were wafting up and down the sea with them. And whereas we thought our money had satisfied them enough, and to the full, we found the next day that they had also a stomack to our fowles and Bacon, and wanted our Meale to make them bread, and our hony to sweeten their mouthes, and our Hydes for shooes and bootes; all which they tooke away, leaving me my Quilt, Bookes, and brasse pictures, and to the Master of the frigate some small provision, as much as might carry us to land, which was not far off, and thus they tooke their leaves of us, thanking us for their good entertainment. And we weary of such guests, some praying to God that they might never entertaine the like againe, some cursing them all, and especially the Mulatto to hell, calling him Renegado; some thanking God for their lives which were given them for a prey, we all returned again to *Surre* from whence we had set out, and going up the river, were almost like to bee cast away, and lose our lives, after we had lost our goods. When we came to land, the *Spaniards* about the Countrey pitied our case, and helped us with almes gathering a Collection for us. The three *Spaniards* of my company lost all their money and most of their best clothes, yet they had reserved some bills of Exchange for money to be taken up at *Portobelo*, which I wished I had also for what I had lost. For the present we knew not what course to take; we thought of going to *Rio de los Anzuelos*, but we were informed that certainly the frigats there were either gone, or would be gone before we could get thither; and if they stayed not with the newes of the *Hollanders* ships at sea, they either already were or would be their prize, as we had been. We resolved therefore with the charitable assistance of the *Spaniards* about the Countrey to returne again to *Carthago*, and from thence to take some better directions. In the way we conferred what we had saved, the *Spaniards* bragged yet of their bills of Exchange, which would yeeld them money at *Carthago*, I would not let them know what I had saved, but somewhat I told them I had kept; and we agreed all the way we went to signifie nothing but poverty and misery, that the *Indians* and *Spaniards* in the way might pity and commiserate us, and our great losses. When we came to *Carthago* we were indeed much pitied, and Collections were made for us; and as it was expected from mee, that I should sing againe at the Altars (who truly could rather have cried to see and consider my many misfortunes and disasters, which I desired might at last by a safe returne to *England*, prove the trials of the faith I intended to search out) and that I should preach wheresoever I came; so by these two waies, of singing and of huddling over *Dominus vobiscum* and the rest of the Masse, and by accepting of what Sermons were recommended unto me, I began againe to store my selfe with monies. Yet I knew that in such a poore Countrey as that was, where I was little knowne, I could not possibly get enough to bring me home with credit into *England*; and therefore the cunning enemy finding me to stand upon my credit, began strongly to tempt me to returne againe to *Guatemala* (where I doubted not but I should be welcomed and entertained by my friends) and to settle my selfe there, untill I had againe by sacrilegious, base, superstitious, and idolatrous means, and works, made up a new purse to returne with credit home.

But I perceiving that God already had shewed himselfe angry, and justly taken from me; what by unlawfull meanes I had in twelve yeers obtained, bad Satan avunt, purposing

posing never more to returne to the fleshpots of *Egypt*, and to goe still home-wards, though in the way I did beg my bread. Yet (leif I might be suspected amongst the *Spaniards*, and trouble for not exercising my orders and function) I resolved to take what as to a stranger and traveller for preaching or any other exercise might be offered unto me.

Thus with courage resolving to goe on still towards *England*, I enquired at *Carthago* which way I might get to *Portobelo*. But this doore of hope was fast shut up; though my trust in Gods providence was not weakened. In this season, there came to *Carthago* some two or three hundred Mules unsaddled or unloaden with some *Spaniards*, *Indians*, and *Black-mores*, from the parts of *Comayagua* and *Guatemala* to convey them to *Panama* by land, over the mountaines of *Veragua* there to be sold. This is the yeerly and onely trading by land, which *Guatemala*, *Comayagua*, and *Nicaragua*, hath with *Panama* over that narrow *Isthmus* lying between the North, and South sea, which is very dangerous by reason of the craggy waies, rockes, and mountaines, but more especially, by reason of many Heathens, Barbarians and savage people, which as yet are not conquered by the *Spaniards*, and sometimes do great hurt and mischief, and kill those that with Mules passe through their Countrey, especially if they misdeemean themselves, or please them not well. Yet for all these difficulties, I was entertaining a thought to go along with those Mules and *Spaniards*, which were now on their way by land to *Panama*. The three *Spaniards* were halfe of the same mind; but the providence of God who better ordereth and disposeth mans affaires then he himselfe, disappointed these our thoughts for our good and safety, as after we were informed; for we heard for certain at *Nicoya*, that some of those Mules and *Spaniards* were killed by the *Barbarians* and savage *Indians*, amongst whom my life might have been lost, if I had attempted that hard and dangerous journey; from which many well withers at *Carthago* did dissuade me, both for the danger of the *Indians*, and for the difficulties of the waies and mountaines, which they told me the weakenesse of my body would never indure. After we had wholly desisted from this Land journey, the best counsell, that we had from some Merchants our friends, was to try whether *Mar del Zur*, or the South sea, would favour our designe and journey, better then the *Mar del Norte*, or the North sea had done; who wished us to goe to *Nicoya*, and from thence to *Chira*, and to the *Golfo de Salinas*, where they doubted not but we should find shipping to *Panama*. Wee were willing to follow any good advise and counsell; yet we knew that this was the last shift which we could make, and the *non plus ultra* of our hopes, and that if here we should be disappointed, we could expect no other way ever to get to *Panama*, except we should venture our lives most desperately over the mountaines of *Veragua*, and by land without any guide or company through the Countrey of the Barbarians, (who before had slain some *Spaniards* passing that way) or else should returne againe, all the way that we had come, to *Realejo*, where our hopes might be frustrated, and peradventure no shipping found for *Panama*, without a yeers waiting for it.

We resolved therefore to follow this our friends counsell, and to goe yet to *Nicoya*, and from thence to *Golfo de Salinas*, where laughing, I told the three *Spaniards* of my company, that if we were disappointed, we would like *Hercules* set up a Pillar to eternize our fame, with our names, and this inscription upon it, *Non plus Ultra*, for that beyond it there was no other Port, Haven, or place, to take shipping to *Panama*; neither could any man have done more (nor ever did any *English* man in that Countrey doe more then my selfe) then wee had done, but especially my selfe, who from *Mexico* had thus travelled by land to *Nicoya* at least six hundred leagues, or eighteen hundred *English* miles straight from North to South, besides what I had travelled from *Vera Cruz* to *Mexico*, and from *Guatemala* to *Vera Paz*, and to *Puerto de Cavallos*, or *Golfo dulce*, and from thence to *Truxillo*, and from thence back againe to *Guatemala*, which was at least thirteen or fourteen hundred *English* miles more, which I thought to eternize upon a pillar at *Nicoya*. But what there was not erected, I hope here shall be eternized, and that this my true and faithfull History shall be a Monument of three thousand, and three hundred miles travelled by an *English* man, within the main land of *America*, besides other sea navigations to *Panama*, from *Portobelo* to *Carthagena*, and from thence unto the *Havana*. The way which we travelled from *Carthagoto Nicoya* was very mountainous, hard, & unpleasant, for we met with few *Estantia's* of *Spaniards*, and few *Indian Towns*, and those very poor, smal, and all of dejected and wretched people. Yet

Nicoya

Nicoya is a pretty Towne, and head of a *Spanish* government, where wee found one *Justo de Salazar*, Alcalde Maior, who entertained us very well, and provided lodgings for us for the time that wee should abide there, and comforted us with hopeful words, that though for the present there was no ship or frigate in the Golfe of *Salinas*, yet he doubted not, but very shortly one would come from *Panama* thither, for Salt and other commodities, as yeerly they were wont. The time of the year when we came thither, was a fit time for me to get againe some monies after my great losse; for it was in Lent which is the Friers chiefe harvest, who (as I have before observed) then by Confessions and by giving the Communion get many money offerings.

The time, and the Franciscan Frier who had the Pastorship and charge of that Towne, were both very commodious unto me, who could not refuse as long as I layed there to exercise my function, lest I should bring a iust cause of suspicion and aspersion upon my selfe. The Frier of the Towne was a *Pertingal*, who about three weeks before my coming thither had had a very great bickering and strife with *Justo de Salazar* the Alcalde Maior, for defending the *Indians*, whom *Salazar* did grievously oppresse, employing them in his, and his wifes service as slaves, and not paying them what for the sweat of their browes was due unto them, and commanding them to be from their home and from their wives, and from their Church upon the Sabbath, working for him as well that day as any other. Which the Frier not enduring, charged them in the pulpit, not to obey any such unlawfull commands from their Alcalde Maior. But *Justo de Salazar* (who had been trained up in warres and fighting, and had served formerly in the Castle of *Milan*) thought it a great disparagement unto him, now to be curbed by a Frier, and by such a one to be interrupted in his government of the *Indians*, and in the waies of his owne lucre and gaine. Therefore after many bitter words and defiance, which had passed between him and the Frier, he came one day resolutely to the Friers house with his sword drawne; and certainly had not the Frier been assisted by some of the *Indians*, he had killed him. The Frier being as hot as he, and standing upon his calling, Orders, and Priesthood, presuming that hee durst not touch him violently, left his priviledge should bring an excommunication upon the striker and offendour, would not flie from him, but dared him boldly; which was a strong provocation to *Salazar*'s heat and passion, and caused him to lift up his sword, and aime his blow and stroke at the Frier, which fell so unhappily that with it he stricke of two of the Friers fingers, and had undoubtedly seconded another blow more hurtfull and dangerous to the Frier, had not the *Indians* interposed themselves, and shut up their Priest into his chamber. *Justo* was for this action excommunicated, yet for that he was a man of high authority, he soone got off his excommunication from the Bishop of *Costarica*, and sent his complaint to the Chancery of *Guatemala* against the Frier, where with friends and mony he doubted not but to overcome the Mendicant Priest, as it happened after; for (as I was informed) hee caused the Frier to be sent for up to the Court, and there prevailed so much against him, that he got him to be removed from *Nicoya*. In this season the Frier kept his house and chamber, and would by no means goe out to the Church, either to say Masse, or to preach, or hear Confessions, (all which that time of the year did require of him) but had got one to helpe him; who alone not being able to performe so great a charge of many hundred *Indians*, *Spaniards*, *Black-mores*, and *Mulatto's*, who from the Countrey without, and from the Towne within expected to have their Confessions heard, their sins absolved, the word preached, and the Communion to be given them; hearing of my coming desired me to assist and helpe him, and that for my paines I should have my meat and drinke at his table, and a Crowne daily for every Masse, and whatsoever the people should voluntarily offer, besides the Sermons, which should be well rewarded unto me. I staid in this Towne from the second week of Lent untill Easter weeke, where what with three Sermons at ten Crownes a peece, what with my daily stipend and many other offerings, I got about an hundred and fifty Crownes.

The weeke before Easter newes came of a frigate from *Panama* to Golfo de *Salinas*, which much comforted us, who already began to mistrust the delay. The Master of the frigate came to *Nicoya*, which is as Court thereabouts; and with him the three *Spaniards* and my selfe agreed for our passage to *Panama*. About *Chirra*, Golfo de *Salinas*, and *Nicoya*, there are some farmes of *Spaniards*, few and very small *Indian* Townes, who are all like slaves employed by the Alcalde Maior, to make him a kind of thred called
Pita,

Pita, which is a very rich Commodity in *Spain*, especially of that colour wherewith it is dyed in these parts of *Nicoja*, which is a purple colour; for the which the *Indians* are here much charged to work about the Sea shore, and there to finde out certain shells, wherewith they make this purple dye.

There are also shells for other colours, which are not knowne to be so plentifully in any other place as here. About *Chira* and *Golfo de Salinas* the chief commodities are Salt, Hony, Maiz, some Wheat and Fowles, which every yeer they send by some few Frigats to *Panama*, which from thence come on purpose to fetch them with this purple coloured thred, or *Pita*, which I have spoken of. The Frigate which came when I was there, was soon laden with these Commodities, and with it we set out hoping to have been at *Panama* within five or six dayes. But as often before we had been crossed, so likewise in this short passage wee were striving with the Wind, Sea, and Corrientes, as they are called (which are swift streames as of a River) foure full weekes. After the first day that wee set out, wee were driven with a wind and storme towards *Peru*, till wee came under the very Equinoctiall line, where what with excessive heat, what with mighty stormes, we utterly despaired of life. But after one week that we had thus run towards, it pleased God in whom and by whom all creatures live, move, and have their being, to comfort us againe with hopes of life, sending us a prosperous gale, which drove us out of that Equinoctiall heat, and stormy Sea, towards the Islands of *Perlas*, and *Puerta de Chame*, lying on the South side of the Mountaines of *Veragua*, from whence wee hoped within two dayes at the most, to be at rest and Anchor at *Panama*. But yet these our hopes were frustrated, for there our wind was calmed, and we fell upon those strong Corrientes or streams, which drave us back in the night for the space of almost a fortnight as much as wee had sailed in the day. Had not God againe been merciful here unto us, we had certainly perished in this our striving with the stream; for although wee wanted not provision of food, yet our drink failed us so, that for foure dayes wee tasted neither drop of wine or water, or any thing that might quench our thirst, save onely a little hony which wee found did cause more thirst in us, which made mee and some others to drink our own Urine, and to refresh our mouthes with peeces of lead bullets, which did for a while refresh, but would not long have sufficed Nature, had not Gods good Providence sent us such a wind which in the day drave us quite off from those Corrientes. Our first thoughts were then to strike either to the Continent, or some Island of many which were about us to seek for water, finding our bodies weak and languishing; which the Captaine of the Ship would by no means yeeld unto, assuring us that that day hee would land us at *Panama*; but wee not being able to faile on without drink, unless wee should yeeld to have our dead and not live bodies landed where hee promised, thought it no good purchase though we might buy all *Panama* with our lives, which wee judged could not hold out another day; and seeing that the wind began to slacken, we all required him to strike into some Island for water; which he stubbornly refused and denied to doe; whereupon the three *Spaniards* and some of the Mariners mutined against him with drawn Swords, threatening to kill him if he betooke not himselfe presently to some Island. The good Master thought it bad sport to see Swords at his breast, and so commanded his Ship to be turned to two or three Islands, which were not above two or three houres sail from us. When we drew nigh unto them, wee cast our Anchor, and our Cock-boat, and happy was hee that could first cast himself into it to be rowed to land to fill his belly with water. The first Island wee landed upon, was on that side uninhabitable, where wee spent much time running to and fro, over heating our selves and increasing our thirst; thus whilst one ran one way, and another tried another to find out some fountain, our hopes being frustrated and I lost in the Wood, and my shoes torne from my feet, with stony rocks, and many thornes and bushes in other places; my company betook themselves to the Cock-boat to try another Island, leaving mee alone, and lost in the Wood; out of which at last when I came, and found the Cock-boat gone from the shore, I began to consider my self a dead man, thinking that they had found water and were gone to Ship, and not finding mee would hoise up their sailes for *Panama*. Thus being dejected I cryed out to the Ship, which I perceived could not possibly hear my weak voyce, and running up and down the Rocks to see if I could discover the Cock-boat, I perceived it was not with the Ship, and elpied it at the next Island. With this I began to hope better things of them that they would call for mee when they had gotten

water; so I came down from the Rocks to the plain shore, where I found a shade of trees and amongst them some berries (which might have been poison, for I knew them not) wherewith I refreshed my mouth for a while, but my body so burned that I thought there with heat, weaknesse and faintnesse I should have expired and given up the Ghost. I thought by stripping my selfe naked and going into the Sea unto my neck, I might thus refresh my body, which I did, and comming out againe into the shade, I fell into a deep sleep, in so much that the Cock-boat comming for mee, and the company hollowing unto mee, I awaked not, which made them feare that I was dead or lost; till landing, one searched for mee one way, and another another, and so they found me, who might have been a prey to some wild Beast, or slept till the Frigat had gone away, and so have perished in a barren and uninhabitable Island. When they awaked mee, I was glad to see my good company, and the first thing I enquired for, was, if they had got any water; they bad mee bee of good cheere and arise, for they had water enough, and Oranges and Lemmons from another Island, where they met with *Spaniards* that did inhabit it. I made haste with them to the Boar, and no sooner was I entred into it, but they gave mee to drink as much as I would. The water was warme and unfetled, for they could not take it up so but that they tooke of the gravell and bottome of the Fountain, which made it looke very muddy; yet for all this (as though my life had depended upon it) I drank up a whole pot of it; which no sooner had I dranke, but such was the weaknesse of my stomack that it presently cast it up againe not being able to beare it. With this they wished me to eat an Orange or a Lemmon; but them also did my stomack reject; so to our Frigat we went, and in the way I fainted so that the company verily thought I would die, before wee got aboard. When wee came thither I called againe for water, which was no sooner downe my stomack, but presently up againe; they had mee to bed with a burning Feaver upon mee; where I lay that night expecting nothing but death, and that the Sea should bee my grave.

The Master of the Ship seeing the wind was turned, began to bee much troubled, and feared that with that wind he should never get to *Panama*. He resolved to venture upon a way, which never before hee had tried; which was, to get between the two Islands which wee had searched for water, knowing that the wind, which on this side was contrary, on the other side of the Islands would bee favourable unto him. Thus towards the Evening hee tooke up Anchor and hoised up his sailes, and resolved to passe his Frigat between the two Islands; which how dangerous and desperate an attempt it was, the event witnessed. I lay in this season (as I may truly say) upon my death bed, not regarding which way the Master of the Ship, or fortune carried mee, so that the mercy of the Lord carried my soule to heaven. No sooner had the Frigat steered her course between the narrow passage of the two Islands, when being carried with the streame too much to the one side of the land it ran upon a Rock, so that the very stern was lifted up, and almost cast out of the Pilots hands, who cryed out not to God, but unto the Virgin *Mary* saying, *Ayudad nos Virgen Santissima, que si no aqui nos perecemos*, help us, O most holy Virgin, for if not, here were perill. This, and the outcry of all that were in the Frigat gave unto mee an Alarm of death; from the which yet it pleased God by the meanes and diligence of the painefull Mariners to deliver mee and all the Company, for with much adoe most part of that night they haled from the Cock-boat the Frigat off from the Rock, after the streame had made it three severall times to strike upon it. After a very troublesome night in the morning weegot our little Ship out of all danger and from between the two Islands on the other side of them, where wee sailed prosperously towards *Panama*. That morning my stomack recovered some of its lost strength, and I began to eat and to drink, and to walk about, rejoicing much to see those pleasant Islands which wee sailed by. In the Evening weegot to *Puerto de Perico*; where wee cast Anchor, expecting to bee searched in the morning; but that night (the Master of our Ship having gone to shore) the wind turned and blew so strong that wee loitour Anchor, and were driven back almost to *la Pacbeque* and feared wee should bee carried out into the Ocean againe so farre that we should with great difficulty get to *Panama*. But that God whom the Sea and winds doe obey, turned againe that contrary wind into a prosperous gale, wherewith wee came once more unto *Perico*; and being searched we went on with full sail to *Panama*; Being neere the Port and without an Anchor in our Ship the wind once more blew us back and had not the Ship

Master

Master sent us an Anchor, we had gon againe to *Pascheque* or further. But with that anchor we stayed all that night at *Perico*, wondering among our selves that so many crosses should befall us, which made some say that we were bewitched; others, that certainly there was amongst us some excommunicated person, whom they said if they knew of, they would hurle him over bord. Whilst they were in this discourse, the wind turned yet againe, and we levying our anchor went on to *Panama*, whither it pleased God that time safely to conduct us in. I being now well strengthened made no stay in that frigate, which I thought would have been my last abiding place in this world, but went to land, and betooke my selfe to the Cloister of the Dominicans, where I stayed almost fifteen daies viewing and reviewing that City, which is governed like *Gustemals* by a President and six Judges, and a Court of Chancery, and is a Bishops see. It hath more strength towards the South sea, then any other Port which on that side I had seen, and some Ordnances planted for the defence of it; but the houses are of the least strength of any place that I had entred in; for lime and stone is hard to come by, and therefore for that reason, and for the great heat there, most of the houses are built of timber and bords; the Presidents house, nay the best Church walls are but bords, which serve for stone and bricke, and for tiles to cover the top. The heat is so extraordinary that a linnen cut doublet, with some slight stuffe or taffete breeches is the common cloathing of the inhabitants. Fish, fruits and herbage for sallets is more plentifull there then flesh; the coole water of the Cocco is the womens best drinke, though Chocolate also, and much wine from *Peru* be very abounding. The *Spaniards* are in this City much given to sinne, loosenesse and venery especially, who make the *Black-mores*, (who are many, rich, and gallant) the chiefe objects of their lust. It is held to be one of the richest places in all *America*, having by land and by the river *Chiagre* commerce with the North sea, and by the South, trading with all *Peru*, *East-India*, *Mexico*, and *Honduras*. Thither is brought the chiefe treasure of *Peru* in two or three great ships, which lie at anchor at *Puerto de Perico* some three leagues from the City; for the great ebbing of the sea at that place especially suffereth not any great vessell to come neerer, where daily the sea ebbs and falls away from the City two or three miles, leaving a mud, which is thought to cause much unhealthinesse in that place, being seconded with many other muddy and moorish places about the Town. It consisteth of some five thousand inhabitants, and maintaineth at least eight Cloisters of Nuns and Friars. I feared much the heats, and therefore made as much haste out of it as I could. I had my choice of company by land and water to *Portobelo*. But considering the hardnesse of the mountaines by land, I resolved to goe by the river *Chiagres* and so at midnight I set out from *Panama* to *Venta de Cruzes*, which is ten or twelve leagues from it. The way is thither very plaine for the most part, and pleasant in the morning and evening.

Before ten of the clock we got to *Venta de Cruzes*, where live none but *Mulatto's* and *Black-mores*, who belong unto the flat boates that carry the merchandize to *Portobelo*. There I had very good entertainment by that people, who desired me to preach unto them the next Sabbath day, and gave me twenty Crownes for a Sermon, and procession. After five daies of my abode there, the boats set out, which were much stopped in their passage downe the river; for in some places we found the water very low, so that the boats ran upon the gravell, from whence with poles and the strength of the *Black-mores* they were to be lifted off againe; sometimes again we met with such streams that carried us with the swiftnesse of an arrow downe under trees and boughes by the river side, which sometimes also stopped ustill we had cut downe great branches of trees. Had not it pleased God to send us after the first weeke plentifull raine, which made the water run downe from the mountaines and fill the river (which otherwise of it selfe is very shallow) we might have had a tedious and longer passage; but after twelve daies we got to the sea, and at the point landed at the Castle to refresh our selves for halfe a day. Certainly the *Spaniards* trust to the streames and shallownesse of that river, which they thinke will keep off any forain nation, from attempting to come up to *Venta de Cruzes* and from thence to *Panama*, or else they would strengthen more and fortifie that Cattle, which in my time wanted great reparations, and was ready to fall downe to the ground. The Governour of the Castle was a notable wine-bibber, who plyed us with that liquor the time that we stayed there, and wanting a Chaplain for himselfe, and Souldiers, would faine have had me stayed with him; but greater

matters called me further, and to I tooke my leave of him, who gave us some dainties of fresh meat, fish, and conserves, and so dismissed us. We got out to the open sea, discovering first the *Escudo de Veragua*, and keeping somewhat close unto the land we went on rowing towards *Portobelo*, till the evening which was Saturday night; then we cast anchor behind a little Island, resolving in the morning to enter in *Portobel*. The *Black-mores* all that night kept watch for fear of *Hollanders*, whom they said did often lie in wait thereabouts for the boats of *Chiagre*; but we passed the night safely, and next morning got to *Portobelo*, whose haven we observed to be very strong with two Castles at the mouth and constant watch within them, and another called *St. Miguel* further in the Port.

When I came into the Haven I was sorry to see that as yet the Galeons were not come from *Spain*, knowing that the longer I stayed in that place, greater would be my charges. Yet I comforted my selfe that the time of the year was come, and that they could not long delay their coming. My first thoughts were of taking up a lodging, which at that time were plentiful and cheape, nay some were offered me for nothing with this caveat, that when the Galeons did come, I must either leave them, or pay a dear rate for them. A kind Gentleman, who was the Kings Treasurer, talking in discourse with me promised to helpe me, that I might be cheaply lodged even when the ships came, and lodgings were at the highest rate. Hee, interpoling his authority, went with me to seeke one, which at the time of the fleets being there, might continue to be mine. It was no bigger then would containe a bed, a table, and a stoole or two, with roome enough besides to open and shut the doore, and they demanded of me for it during the foresaid time of the Fleet, sixcore Crownes, which commonly is a fortnight. For the Towne being little, and the Souldiers, that come with the Galeons for their defence at least four or five thousand, besides Merchants from *Pern*, from *Spain* and many other places to buy and sell, is the cause that every roome, though never so small be deare; and sometimes all the lodgings in the Towne are few enough for so many people, which at that time doe meet at *Portobel*. I knew a Merchant who gave a thousand Crownes for a shop of reasonable bignesse, to sell his wares and commodities that year that I was there, for fifteen daies only, which the Fleet continued to be in that Haven. I thought it much for me to give the sixcore Crownes which were demanded of me for a room, which was but as a mouse hole, and began to be troubled, and told the Kings Treasurer that I had been lately robbed at sea, and was not able to give so much, and bee besides at charges for my diet, which I feared would prove as much more. But not a farthing would be abated of what was asked; whereupon the good Treasurer pitying me, offered to the man of the house to pay him threescore Crowns of it, if so be that I was able to pay the rest, which I must doe, or else lie without in the street. Yet till the Fleet did come I would not enter into this deare hole, but accepted of another faire lodging which was offered me for nothing. Whilest I thus expected the Fleets coming, some money and offerings I got for Masses, and for two Sermons which I preached at fifteen Crownes a peece. I visited the Castles, which indeed seemed unto me to be very strong; but what most I wondred at was to see the requas of Mules which came thither from *Panama*, laden with wedges of silver; in one day I told two hundred Mules laden with nothing else, which were unladen in the publicke Market place, so that there the heapes of silver wedges lay like heaps of stones in the street, without any feare or suspicion of being lost. Within ten daies the fleet came, consisting of eight Galeons and ten Merchant ships, which forced me to run to my hole. It was a wonder then to see the multitude of people in those fleets which the weeke before had been empty.

Then began the price of all things to rise, a fowl to be worth twelve Rials, which in the main land within I had often bought for one; a pound of beefe then was worth two Rials, whereas I had had in other places thirteen pound for half a Riall, and so of all other food and provision, which was so excessive deare, that I knew not how to live but by fish and Tortoises, which there are very many, and though somewhat deare, yet were the cheapest meat that I could eate. It was worth seeing how Merchants sold their commodities, not by the Ell or yard, but by the peece and weight, not paying in coined peeces of money, but in wedges which were weighed and taken for commodities. This lasted but fifteen dayes, whilst the Galeons were lading with wedges of silver and nothing else; so that for those fifteen daies, I dare boldly say and avouch, that

that in the world there is no greater Fair then that of *Portobel*, between the *Spanish* Merchants and those of *Pern*, *Panama*, and other parts thereabouts.

Whilest this traffique was, it happened unto me, that which I have formerly testified in my Recantation Sermon at *Pauls Church*, which if by that meanes it have not come unto the knowledge of many, I desire again to record it in this my History, that to all *England* it may be published; which was, that one day saying Masse in the chiefe Church, after the Consecration of the bread, being with my eyes shut at that mentall prayer, which the Church of *Rome* calleth the *Memento* for their dead, there came from behind the Altar a mouse, which running about, came to the very bread or wafer God of the Papists, and taking it in his mouth ran away with it, not being perceived by any of the people who were at Masse, for that the Altar was high by reason of the steps going up to it, and the people farre beneath. But as soone as I opened my eyes to goe on with my Masse, and perceived my God stollen away, I looked about the Altar, and saw the mouse running away with it; which on a suddain did so stupifie me, that I knew not well what to doe or say, and calling my wits together, I thought that if I should take no notice of the mischance, and any body else in the Church should, I might justly be questioned by the Inquisition; but if I should call to the people to look for the Sacrament, then I might bee but chid and rebuked for my carelessefene; which of the two I thought would be more easily borne, then the rigour of the Inquisition. Whereupon not knowing what the people had seen, I turned my selfe unto them, and called them unto the Altar, and told them plainly, that whilest I was in my *Memento* prayers and meditations, a mouse had carried away the Sacrament, and that I knew not whither it was, unless they would helpe me to find it out again. The people called a Priest that was at hand, who presently brought in more of his Coat; and as if their God by this had been eaten up they presently prepared themselves to find out the thief, as if they would eat up the mouse that had so assauled and abused their God; they lighted candles and torches to find out the Malefactor in his secret and hidden places of the wall, and after much searching and enquiry for the sacrilegious beast, they found at last in a hole of the wall the Sacrament halfe eaten up; which with great joy they took out, and as if the Arke had been brought again from the *Philistines* to the *Israelites*, so they rejoyced for their new found God, whom with many people now resorted to the Church, with many lights of candles and Torches, with joyfull and solemne musicke they carried about the Church in procession. My selfe was present upon my knees, shaking and quivering for what might be done unto mee, and expecting my doome and judgement; and as the Sacrament passed by me, I observed in it the markes and signes of the teeth of the mouse, as they are to be seen in a piece of cheefe gnawne and eaten by it.

This stricke mee with such horrore, that I cared not at that present whether I had been torne in a thousand peices for denying publickly that Mouse-eaten God, I called to my best memory all Philosophy concerning substance and accidents, and resolved within my selfe that what I saw gnawne, was not an accident, but some reall substance eaten and devoured by that vermin, which certainly was fed and nourished by what it had eaten, and Philosophy well teacheth; *substantia Cibi (non accidentis) convertitur in substantiam alii*, the substance (not the accident) of the food or meat is converted, and turned into the substance of the thing fed by it and alimented; Now here I knew that this Mouse had fed upon some substance, or else how could the markes of the teeth so plainly appeare? But no Papist will bee willing to answer that it fed upon the substance of Christs Body, ergo by good consequence it followes that it fed upon the substance of bread; and so Transubstantiation here in my judgement was confuted by a Mouse; which meane and base creature God chose to convince mee of my former errors, and made mee now resolve upon what many yeeres before I had doubted, that certainly the point of Transubstantiation taught by the Church of *Rome* is most damnable and erroneous; for besides, what before I have observed, it contradicth that Philosophicall Axiome, teaching that *duo contradictoria non possunt simul & semel de eodem verificari*, two contradictories cannot at once and at the selfe same time be said, and verified of the same thing; but here it was so; for here in *Romes* judgement and opinion Christs body was gnawne and eaten, and at the same time the same body in another place and upon another Altar in the hands of another Priest was not eaten and gnawne. Therefore here are two contradictories verified of the same body of Christ:

to wit, it was eaten and gnawne, and it was not eaten and gnawne. These impressions at that time were so great in me, that I resolved within my selfe, that bread really and truly was eaten upon that Altar, and by no means Christs glorious body which is in heaven, and cannot be upon earth, subject to the hunger or violence of a creature. Here againe I desired with godly *David*, that I might have the wings of a Dove to flie into my Country of *England*, and there be satisfied upon this point, and beat rest of Conscience. Here I resolved that if I had been questioned for my carelesnesse, or for my contempt of that Romish Sacrament (which I thought would be the judgement of the *Spaniards*, who knew me to be an *English* man borne) that I would sacrifice willingly my life for the Protestant truth, which as yet I had been no otherwise taught, but by that Spirit which (as *Solomon* well observeth) in a man is the candle of the Lord. I conceived here that this was some comfort to my soule, which my good God will afford mee in the way of my travelling to *Canaan*, that I might more willingly beare whatsoever crosses yet might befall mee in my way and journey to *England*. The event of this accident was not any trouble that fell upon mee for it; for indeed the *Spaniards* attributed it unto the carelesnesse of him, who had care of the Altars in the Church, and not to any contempt in mee to the Sacrament. The part of the wafer that was left after the Mouse had filled her belly, was laid up after the Solemne Procession about the Church, in a Tabernacle for that purpose, that afterwards it might be eaten up by some hungry Preist. And because such a high contempt had bene offered by a contemptible Vermin to their Bread God, it was commanded through *Portabel* that day, that all the people should humble themselves and mourn, and fast with bread and water onely. Although I saw I was not questioned for the case, yet I feared where there were so many Souldiers, and forain people, that by some or other I might bee mischiefed out of their blind zeale, wherefore I thought it not amisse for a day or two to keepe within my lodging. Don *Carlos de Ybarra*, who was the Admirall of that Fleet, made great haste to bee gone; which made the Merchants buy and sell apace, and lade the ships with silver wedges; whereof I was glad, for the more they laded, the lesse I unladed my purse with buying deare provision, and sooner I hoped to be out of that unhealthy place, which of it selfe is very hot, and subject to breed Feavers, nay death, if the feet bee not preserved from wetting when it raineth; but especially when the Fleet is there, it is an open grave ready to swallow in part of that numerous people, which at that time resort unto it, as was seene the yeare that I was there when about five hundred of the Souldiers, Merchants, and Mariners, what with Feavers, what with the Flux caused by too much eating of fruit and drinking of water, what with other disorders lost their lives, finding it to bee to them not *Porto bello*; but *Porto malo*. And this is usuall every yeare; and therefore for the reliefe and comfort of those that come sick from Sea, or sicken there, a great and rich Hospitall is in the Towne, with many Fryers called *De la Capacha*, or by others *De Juan de Dios*, whose calling and profession is onely to cure, and attend upon the sick, and to beare the dead unto their graves. The Admirall fearing the great sicknesse that yeare, made haste to be gone, not fearing the report that was of some three or four *Holland* or *English* ships abroad at Sea, waiting (as it was supposed) for some good prize out of that great and rich Fleet. This news made mee beginne to feare, and to thinke of securing my selfe in one of the best and strongest Galeons; but when I came to treat of my passage in one of them, I found that I could not bee carryed in any under three hundred Crownes, which was more then my purse was able to afford. With this I thought to addresse my selfe to some Master of a Merchants ship, though I knew I could not bee so safe and secure in any of them, as in a Galeon well manned and fortified with Souldiers, and Guns of Brasse; yet I hoped in God, who is a strong refuge to them that feare him, and in this occasion provided for mee a cheap and sure passage. For meeting one day with my friend the Treasurer, hee againe pitying me as a stranger and lately robbed, commended me to the Master of a Merchant Ship, called *St. Sebastian*, whom hee knew was desirous to carry a Chaplaine with him at his own Table. I no sooner addressed my selfe unto him, using the name and favour of his and my friend the Treasurer, but presently I found him willing to accept of my company, promising to carry me for nothing, and to board mee at his own Table, onely for my prayers to God for him and his; offering further to give mee some satisfaction for whatsoever Sermons I should preach in
his

his Ship. I blessed God, acknowledging in this also his Providence, who in all occasions furthered my returne to *England*. The Ships being laden wee set forth towards *Caribagena*; and the second day of our sayling wee discovered foure Ships which made the Merchant Ships afraid, and to keepe close to the Galeons, trusting to their strength more then their own. The Ship I was in, was swift and nimble under sail; and kept still under the wings either of the Admirall or of some other of the best Galeons; but all the other Merchants Ships were not so, but some slowly came on behind, whereof two were carryed away by the *Hollanders* in the night, before ever wee could get to *Caribagena*.

The greatest feare that I perceived possessed the *Spaniards* in this Voyage, was about the Island of *Providence*, called by them *Sia Catalina*, or *St. Catharine*, from whence they feared lest some *English* Ships should come out against them with great strength. They cursed the *English* in it, and called the Island, the den of thieves and Pirates, wishing that their King of *Spain* would take some course with it; or else, that it would prove very prejudiciall to the *Spaniards*, lying neer the mouth of the *Desaguadero*, and to endangering the Frigats of *Granada*, and standing between *Portobelo* and *Caribagena*, and to threatening the Galeons, and their Kings yeerely and mighty treasure.

Thus with bitter invectives against the *English* and the Island of *Providence* we sayled on to *Caribagena*, where againe wee met with the foure Ships, which before had followed us and had taken away two of our Ships, and now at our entering into that Port, threatned to carry away more of our company; which they might have done, if they would have ventured to have come upon the Ship wherein I went, which at the turning about the land point to get into the Haven, ran upon the shore, which if it had been rocky, as it was sandy and gravelly, had certainly there beene cast away by keeping too neere unto the land, from which danger by the care of the Mariners, and their active paines we were safely delivered, as also from the ships which followed us as far as they durst for fear of the Cannon shot of the Castle; and thus we entered into the Haven of *Caribagena*, and stayed there for the space of eight or ten dayes; where I met with some of my Country men their Prisoners, who had been taken at Sea by the *Spaniards*, and belonged unto the Island of *Providence*; among whom was the Renowned Captaine *Rouse*, and about a dozen more, with whom I was glad to meet, but durst not shew them too much countenance, for feare of being suspected; yet I soon got the good will of some of them, who, being destined to *Spain*, were very desirous to goe in the ship, wherein I went; which desire of theirs I furthered, and was suiter unto my Captaine to carry foure of them in his ship, which for my sake he willingly yeelded unto; amongst these was one *Edward Layfield*, (who afterwards setting out of *St. Lucar* for *England*, was taken Captive by the *Turkes*, and since from *Turkey* writ into *England* unto mee to helpe to release him) with whom both at *Caribagena*, and in the way in the ship I had great discourse concerning points of Religion; and by him came to know some things professed in *England*, which my conscience (whilst I lived in *America*) much inclined unto. I was much taken with his company, and found him very officious unto mee, whose kindnesse I requited by speaking for him in the ship to the Masters and Mariners, who otherwife were ready and forward to abuse him and the rest of the *English* company as prisoners and slaves.

At *Caribagena* wee heard a report of threescore saile of ships of *Hollanders* waiting for the Galeons, which struck no little feare into the *Spaniards*; who called a councill whether our Fleet should winter there, or goe on to *Spain*. It proved to be but a false report of the Inhabitants of *Caribagena*, who for their own ends and lucre would willingly have had the ships and Galeons to have stayed there; but *Don Carlos de Tbarra* replied, that hee feared not a hundred saile of *Hollanders*, and therefore would goe on to *Spain*, hoping to carry thither safely the Kings treasure. Which hee performed and in eight dayes arrived at *Havana*, where we stayed eight dayes longer, expecting the Fleet from *Vera Cruz*. In which time I viewed wel that strong Cattle manned with the twelve Guns, called the twelve Apostles, which would doe little hurt to an Army by land, or marching from the River of *Matamoros*. I visited here the mother of that Mulatto, who had taken away all my meanes at Sea; and spent much time in comforting my poore Country men the prisoners; but especially that gallant Captaine *Rouse*, who came unto mee to complaine of some affronts which had been offered unto him by *Spaniards*, in the ship wherein he came; which hee not being able to put up,
though

though a Prisoner unto them desired to question in the field, challenging his proud contempters to meet him if they durst in any place of the Havana, (a brave courage in a dejected and imprisoned *English* man to challenge a *Spaniard* in his Country, a Cock upon his own dunghill,) which as soone as I understood by *Edward Layfield*, I desired to take up, fearing that many would fall upon him cowardly and mince him small in peices. I lent for him to the Cloister where I lay, and there had conference with him, prevailing so far as that I made him desist from his thoughts of going into the field, and shewing his manhood in such a time and place, where his low condition of a Prisoner might well excuse him. The rest of my poore country men were here much discouraged and in some want; whom I relieved (especially *Layfield*) and encouraged as much as I was able. I chanced here to have occasion to take a little physick before I went again to Sea, & thereby I learned what before I never knew, to wit, the dyet which on such aday the best Physicians of *Havana* prescribe unto their patients. Whereas after the working of my physick, I expected some peece of Mutton, or a fowl, or some other nourishing meat, my Physitian left order that I should have a peece of roasted Porke, which seeming unto mee a Dyet contrary to that daies extremity, I began to refuse it, alleading to my Doctor the contrary course of all Nations, the naturall quality of that meat to open the body. To which he replied, that what Porke might worke upon mans body in other Nations, it worked not there, but the contrary; and so he withheld me to feed upon what hee had prescribed, assuring mee that it would doe mee no hurt. Now as Hogs flesh there is held to be so nourishing, so likewise no other meat is more then it, and Tortoises, wherewith all the ships make their provision for *Spain*. The Tortoises they cut out in long thin slices, as I have noted before of the *Tassajos*, and dry it in the wind after they have well salted it, and so it serveth the Mariners, in all their voyage to *Spain*, which they eate boyled with a little garlick, and I have heard them say that to them it tasted as well as any Veale. They also take into their ships some fowles for the Masters and Captaines tables, and live hogs, which would seem to be enough to breed some infection in the ship, had they not care to wash often the place where such unclean beasts lie. In the ship where I was passenger, was killed every weeke one for the Masters, Pilots and passengers table. Thus all things being made ready for the ships provision to *Spain*, and the Merchants goods and the Kings Revenue being shipped in nine dayes that we abode there; we now wanted nothing, but onely the company of the Fleet from *Vera Cruz*, which should have met us there upon the eight day of September. But *Don Carlos de Ybarra*, seeing it stayed longer then the time appointed, and fearing the weather, & the New Moon of that moneth which commonly proveth dangerous in the Golf of *Bahama*, resolved to stay no longer, but to set out to *Spain*. On a Sabbath day therefore in the morning we hoisted sails, (being in all seven and twenty ships with those which had met with us there from *Honduras* and the Islands), and one by one we sailed out of Havana to the main Sea, where we that day wasted about for a good wind, and also waiting for our guide, which was not yet come out of the Havana to guide us through the Gulfe of *Bahama*. But that night wee wished our selves againe in the Havana, thinking that we were compassed about with a strong Fleet of *Hollanders*; many ships came amongst us, which made us provide for a fight in the morning. A Councell of War was called, and all that night watch was kept, the Guns prepared, red Clothes hung round the ships, Orders sent about both to the Galeons and to the Merchants ships what posture and place to be in. That which I was in, was to attend the Admirall, which I hoped would bee a strong defence unto us; Our men were couragious and ready to fight, though I liked not such Martiall businesse and discourse; but for mee a place was prepared where I might lie hid, and be safe among some barrels of bisket; I had all the night enough to doe, to heare the confessions of those in the Ship, who thought they could not dye happily with the shot of a *Holland* Bullet, untill they had confessed all their sinnes unto mee, who towards morning had more need of rest, then of fighting, after the wearying of my cares with hearing so many wicked, grievous and abominable sinnes. But the dawning of the day discovered our causelesse feare; which was from friends, and not from any enemies or *Hollanders*; for the ships which were joyned unto us in the night were as fearefull of us, as we of them, and prepared themselves likewise to fight in the morning, which shewed unto us their colours, whereby wee knew that they were the Fleet which wee expected from *Vera Cruz* to goe along
with

with us to *Spain*. They were two and twenty Sail, which little thought to find us out of the Havana, but within the Haven lying at Anchor, waiting for their coming, and therefore in the night feared us much more then wee them. But when the day cleared our doubts, feares and jealousies, then began the Martiall colours to be taken down; the joyfull found of Trumpets with the helpe of Neptunes Kingdomes echoed from ship to ship, the boates carryed welcoming messages from one to another, the *Spanish* Brindis with *buen Viaje, buen passage*, was generally cried out, the whole morning was spent in friendly acclamations and salutations from ship to ship. But in the midst of this our joy, and Sea greetings, wee being now in all two and fifty Sailes, (yet wee not knowing well how many they were from *Vera Cruz*, nor they how many wee were from the Havana) two ships were found amongst us, whether *English* or *Hollanders* wee could not well discover, but the *English* prisoners with mee told mee they thought one was a ship of *England* called the *Neptune*) which having got the wind of us, singled out a ship of ours (which belonged to *Dunkerk* and from *St. Lucar* or *Cales* had bene forced to the Kings service in that voyage to the *Indias*, laden with sugars & other rich commodities to the worth of at least fourscore thousand Crowns, and suddainly giving her a whole broad side (receiving a reply onely of two Guns) made her yeeld, without any hope of help from so proud and mighty a Fleet, for that he was somewhat far straggled from the rest of the ships. The whole businesse lasted not above half an hour: but presently shee was carryed away from under our noes, the *Spaniards* changed their merry tunes into *unto a dios* and *unto a Christo*, in raging, cursing, & swearing, some reviling at the Captaine of the ship which was taken, and saying that he was false & yeelded on purpose without fighting, because he was forced to come that Voyage; others cursing those that tooke her, and calling them *bijos de puta, Borrachos, infames Ladrones*, Baitards, Drunkards, infamous thieves, and Pyrates; some taking their swords in their hands, as if they would there cut them in peeces, some laying hold of their Muskets as if they would there shoot at them, others stamping like mad men, and running about the ship, as if they would leap over board, and make haile after them; others grinning their teeth at the poore *English* prisoners that were in the ship, as if they would stab them for what (they said) their Country men had done. I must needs say, I had enough to doe to hold some of those furious and raging brains from doing *Layfield* some mischief, who more then the rest would bee smiling, arguing and answering their outrageous nonsense. Order was presently given to the Vice-Admirall and two more Gallions to follow and pursue them; but all in vaine, for the wind was against them, and so the two ships laughing and rejoicing as much as the *Spaniards* cursed and raged, sailed away *con Viento en Popa*, with full Sail, gallantly boasting with so rich a prize taken away from two and fifty ships, or (as I may say) from the chiefest, and greatest strength of *Spain*.

That afternoon the Fleet of *Vera Cruz*, tooke their leave of us, (not being furnished with Provision to goe on to *Spain* with us,) and went into the Havana; and we set forwards towards *Europe*, searing nothing for the present but the Gulfe of *Bahama*; through which wee got safely with the help and guidance of such Pilots, which our Admirall *Don Carlos* had chosen, and hired for that purpose.

I shall not need to tell thee my Reader of the sight which wee had of *St Augustine, Florida*, nor of many stormes which we suffered in this Voyage, nor of the many degrees wee came under, which made us shake with cold more then the Frost of *England* doe in the worst of winter; onely I say, that the best of our Pilots not knowing where they were, had like to have betrayed us all to the Rocks of *Bermuda* one night, had not the breaking of the day given us a faire warning that we were running upon them. For which the *Spaniards* in stead of giving God thanks for their delivery out of that danger, began againe to curse and rage against the *English* which inhabited that Island, saying, that they had incanted that and the rest of those Islands about, and did still with the devill raise stormes in those Seas when the *Spanish* Fleet passed that way. From thence when wee had safely escaped, wee sailed well to the Islands called *Tercera*, where faine wee would have taken in fresh water, (for that which we had taken in at Havana now began to stink, and look yellow, making us stop our noses, whilst wee opened our mouthes,) but rigid *Don Carlos* would not pity the rest of his Company, who led us by the Islands; and that night following wee all wished our selves in some harbour of them; for (though in their conceipt

cept those Islands were not enchanted by *English* men, but inhabited by holy and Idolatrous Papiſts) wee were no ſooner got from them, when there aroſe the greateſt ſtorme that wee had in all our voyage from *Havana* to *Spain*, which laſted full eight dayes, where wee loſt one Ship and indangered two Galeons, which ſhot off their warning peeces for helpe, and made us all ſtay and wait on them, till they had repaired their Tacklings and maine Maſt. We went on ſometimes one way, ſometimes another, not well knowing where wee were, drinking our ſtinking water by allowance of pints, till three or four dayes after the ſtorme was ceaſed, wee diſcovered land, which made all cry out, *Hispania, Hispania, Spain, Spain*; whiſt a Counſell was ſummoned by the Admirall to know what land that was, ſome ſold away barrels of biſket, others of water, to thoſe that wanted (every one thinking that it was ſome part of *Spain*;) but the reſult of the wiſe Counſell was, after they had failed nearer to the land, and had layed and loſt many wages about it, that it was the Iſland of *Madera*, which made ſome curſe the ignorance of the Pilots, and made us all prepare our ſelves with patience for a longer voyage. It pleaſed God from the diſcovery of this Iſland, to grant us a favourable wind to *Spain*, where within twelve dayes we diſcovered *Cales*; and ſome of the ſhips there left us, but moſt of them went forward to *San Lucar*, as did the ſhip wherein I went; when wee came nere to the dangerous place, which the *Spaniards* call *La Barra*, wee durſt not venture our ſhips upon our Pilots own knowledge; but called for Pilots to guide us in, who greedy of their lucre came out in boats almoſt for every ſhip one. Upon the eight and twentyeth of *November*, 1637. we caſt Anchor within *St. Lucar de Barameda* about one of the clock in the afternoon, and before evening other paſſengers and my ſelle went a ſhore (having firſt been ſearched) and although I might preſently have gone to the Cloiſter of *St. Dominick*, where my old friend Fryer *Pablo de Londres* was yet living, whom I knew would be glad of my coming from the *India's*, yet I thought fit the firſt night to enjoy my friends company both *Spaniards* and *English*, (who had come ſo long a voyage with me) in ſome Ordinary, and to take my reſt better abroad then I ſhould doe in a Cloiſter, where I expected but a poore Fryers ſupper, a hard and mean lodging, many fooliſh queſtions from old Fryer *Pablo de Londres* concerning the *India's*, and my abode there ſo many yeeres, and finally the noiſe of Bells and ratlers to rouſe up the drowſie Fryers from their ſleep to Matines at midnight. That night therefore I betooke my ſelfe to an *English* Ordinary, where I reſreſhed my ſelfe and my poore priſoners, (who by the Maſter of the ſhip were committed to my charge that night and forwards upon my word, ſo as to bee forth coming when they ſhould bee called) and the next morning I ſent my honeſt friend *Layfield* with a letter to the Cloiſter to old *Pablo de Londres*, who upon my ſummons came joyfully to welcome mee from the *India's*, and after very little diſcourſe told mee of ſhips in the Haven ready to ſet out for *England*. The old Fryer being of a decrepit and doting age, thought every day a yeere that I ſtayed there, and ſuſpended my Voyage for *England*, and (not knowing the ſecrets of my heart) judged already that the Conſeſſion or turning of many Proteſtant ſoules to Popery waited for my coming, which made him haſten mee, who was more deſirous then kee to bee gone the next day, if I might have found wind, weather, and ſhipping ready. But God, who had been with me in almoſt ninety dayes ſailing from *Havana* to *San Lucar*, and had delivered mee from many a ſtorme, prepared and furthered all things in a very ſhort time for the laſt accompliſhment of my hope and deſire, to returne to *England* my native ſoil, from whence I had been abſent almoſt for the ſpace of foure and twenty yeeres.

My firſt thought here in *St. Lucar*, was to caſt off now my Fryers weed, that outward ſheepskin, which covers many a wolviſh, greedy, and covetous heart under it; which doubtleſſe is the ground, why in *Germany* in the Proteſtant and *Lutheran* towns, when the boyes and young men ſee a Fryer goe along their ſtreets, the cry out to the neighbours, ſaying, a Wolfe, a Wolfe, ſhut your doores; meaning, that though what they weare ſeeme to bee pellis ovina, or *Agnina*, a ſheep or Lambeskin and their condition of mortified, humble, and meek men, yet under it lyeth *cor Lupinum*, a Wolves heart, greedy of ſome prey, either worldly, of wealth and riches, or ſpiritually, of ſeducing, deceiving and miſleading poore ſoules. Such was the habit, which now I deſired to ſhake off, which was a white Coat or gown hanging to the ground girded

girded about with a leathern belt, and over it from the shoulders downward a white Scapulary (so called there,) hanging shorter then the gown both before and behind, and over that a white hood to cover the head, and lastly, over that a black cloak with another black hood; both which together, the black and white make the Fryers of that profession look juſt like Mag-pies, and is acknowledged by the Church of *Rome* it ſelf in a verſe which they ſaine of Mr. *Martin Luther*, (with what juſt ground I know not) ſaying of his former life and profeſſion before his Converſion, *Bis Corvus, bis Pica fui, ter ſune ligatur*. I waſt twice a Crow, twice a Magpie, and thrice was bound or tyed with a Cord; by a Crow meaning an Auguſtin Fryer, who is all in black; by a Magpie, meaning a Dominican, and by bound with a rope or cord, meaning a Franciſcan, who indeed is girded about with a cord made of hempe. Though the Dominican Magpie by this his habit make ſuch a gloſſe and underſtanding, which is contrary to his life and converſation; for by his outward black habit, hee ſaith, is ſignified an outward ſhew of deadneſſe and Mortification to the world, and by his inward white habit, an inward purity and chaſtity of heart, thoughts and life, both which truly are little ſeen in thoſe Fryers eſpecially, who outwardly are worldly, and living to the world, covetous and ambitious of honours, preferments, Biſhopricks, and places of publique reading and preaching; and therefore have by favour obtained many places of authority, as by the laws of *Aragon* to be the King of *Spain* his Ghoſtly father, to bee Maſters of the Popes Palace, and there to read a leſſon of Divinity, to be chief heads of the Inquiſition, and from theſe places to bee promoted to ſit in the Councell of the State in *Spain*, or to bee Cardinals in *Rome*, and ſo Popes, or to enjoy the richeſt and fatteſt Biſhopricks and Arch-Biſhopricks in *Spain*, *Italy*, and *India's*, which ſheweth how little they are dead to the world, nay how they are living to the world and its preferments, contrary to the black and dead colour of their habits. So likewiſe doe they not live according to the whitenefſe of their inward habits, whoſe lives are found impure and unchaſte, as I could exemplifie at large, ſhewing what baſe and unclean acts have been committed by ſome of that profeſſion in the Low Countries, in *Spain*, in the *India's*, in *Italy*, nay here in *England* by one *Dade* the Superior of them, by one *Pophar* well known to bee a good fellow, and ſtill at this day abiding in the *Spaniſh* houſe, by one *Craſts* and others, which would bee too too long a digreſſion from the whitenefſe of their habit. But I applying the Allegory of this black and white habit otherwiſe unto my ſelfe, and in the outward black part of it ſeeing the fouleneſſe and filthineſſe of my life and Idolatrous Preſtitution in the exerciſe of that profeſſion, and Orders which from *Rome* I had received, and in the white inward habit conſidering yet the purity, and integrity of thoſe intentions and thoughts of my inward heart, in purſuance whereof I had leſt what formerly I have noted, yea all *America*, which, had I continued in it, might have been to mee a Mine of wealth, riches and treaſure, I reſolved here therefore to caſt off that hypocriticall cloak and habit, and to put on ſuch Apparell whereby I might no more appeare a Wolfe in ſheepskin, but might goe boldly to my Country of *England*, there to ſhew and make known the Candor of my heart, the purity and ſincerity of my thoughts, which had brought mee ſo farre, by a publik profeſſion of the pure truths of the Goſpell, without any invention or addition of man unto it. With the ſmall meanes therefore which was leſt mee after ſo long and almoſt a whole yeeres journey from *Petapa* to *St. Lucar* (having yet about a hundred Crowne) I gave order for a ſute of Cloathes to bee made by an *Engliſh* Taylor, which I willingly put on, and ſo prepared my ſelf for *England*. Three or four ſhips were in readineſſe, who had onely waited for the Fleet, to take in ſome Commodities, eſpecially ſome wedges of ſilver, of which I was with old *Pablo de Londres*, in doubt which to chooſe. The firſt that went out was thought ſhould have beene my lot, in the which my friend *Layfield* imbarked himſelfe (for all the *Engliſh* priſoners were there freed to goe home to their Country) and from which the great providence of God diverted mee, or elſe I had beene this day with *Layfield* a ſlave in *Turkey*; for the next day after this ſhip ſet out, it was taken by the *Turkes*, and carryed away for a rich prize, and all the *Engliſh* in it for priſoners to *Argell*. But God (who I hope had reſerved mee for better things,) appointed for mee a ſafer convoy home in a ſhip (as I was informed) belonging to Sir *William Curtin*, under the command of an honeſt *Flemming*, named *Adrian Adrianzen* living at *Dover* then, with whom

whom I agreed for my passage and dyet at his Table. This ship set out of the Barre of St. Lucar the ninth day after my arrivall thither, where it waited for the company of foure ships more, but especially for some *Indian* wedges of silver, which upon forfeiture of them it durst not take in within the Barre and Haven.

And thus being now clothed after a new fashion and ready to lead a new life, being now changed from an *American* into the fashion of an *English* man, the tenth day after my abode in San Lucar, I bad adieu to Spain and all *Spanish* fashions, fashions, and carriages, I bad farewell my old Fryer *Pablo de Londres*, with the rest of my acquaintance, and so in a boat went over the bar to the ship, which that night in company of foure more set forward for *England*. I might observe here many things of the goodnesse of *Adrian Adrianzen*, and his good carriage towards mee in his ship, which I will omit, having much more to observe of the goodnesse of God, who favoured this our voyage with such a prosperous wind, and without any storm at all, that in thirteen dayes wee came to *Dover*, where I landed, the ship going on to the *Downes*. Others that landed at *Margaret* were brought to *Dover*, and there questioned and searched; but I, not speaking *English*, but *Spanish*, was not at all suspected, neither judged to be an *English* man; and so after two dayes I tooke post in company of some *Spaniards* and an *Irish* Colonel, for *Camberbury*, and so forward to *Gravesend*. When I came to *London*, I was much troubled within my selfe for want of my Mother tongue, (for I could onely speak some few broken words) which made mee fearefull I should not bee acknowledged to bee an *English* man born. Yet I thought my kinned (who knew I had bene many yeers lost) would some way or other acknowledge mee, and take notice of mee, if at the first I addressed my selfe unto some of them, untill I could better expresse my selfe in *English*. The first therefore of my name, whom I had notice of, was my Lady *Penelope Gage*, widow of Sir *John Gage*, then living in St. *James*; to whom the next morning after my arrivall to *London*, I addressed my selfe for the better discovery of some of my kinned; whom though I knew to bee *Papists*, and therefore ought not to be acquainted with my inward purpose and resolution; yet for feare of some want in the mean time, and that I might by their means practice my selfe in the use of my forgotten native tongue, and that I might enquire what Childs part had bene left me by my father, that I might learn some fashions, and lastly, that in the meane time, I might search into the Religion of *England*, and find how farre my conscience could agree with it, and bee satisfied in those scruples which had troubled mee in *America*, for all these reasons I thought it not amisse to looke and inquire after them. When therefore I came unto my Lady *Gage*, shee believed mee to bee her kinsman, but laughed at mee, telling mee, that I spake like an *Indian* or *Welch* man, and not like an *English* man; yet shee welcomed mee home, and sent mee with a servant to a Brothers lodging in *Long Aker*, who being in the Country of *Surrey*, and hearing of mee sent horse and man for mee to come to keepe Christmas with an Uncle of mine living at *Gatton*; by whom as a lost and forgotten Nephew, and now after foure and twenty yeeres returned home againe, I was very kindly entertained, and from thence sent for to *Cheam*, to one Mr. *Fromand* another kinsman, with whom I continued till after twelfth day, and so returned againe to *London* to my brother.

Thus my good Reader, thou seest an *American*, through many dangers by Sea and Land, now safely arrived in *England*; and thou maiest well with mee observe the great and infinite goodnesse and mercy of God towards mee a wicked and wretched sinner. How I have answered to this Gods gracious calling mee from so farre and remote a Country, to doe him service here, I will shew thee in the Chapter following, and so conclude this my long and tedious History.

CHAP. XXII.

Shewing how, and for what causes, after I had arrived in England, I tooke yet another Journey to Rome, and other parts of Italy, and returned againe to settle my selfe in this my Country.

NOW Reader, as the stone that is falling, the neerer it cometh to its Center, more haste it maketh: So I the neerer I am coming to the conclusion of this my History, more haste I desire to make in this last Chapter, for the completing and finishing of it. With brevity therefore I will relate some of my travels in *Europe*, in which I will yeld to many of my Nation, but for *America*, and my travels and experience there, I dare boldly challenge all travellers of my Country. After my return to *London*, from *Surrey*, I began to expostulate with my younger Brother (knowing hee had been present at my Fathers death, and had a chief hand in the ordering and executing his last Will and Testament,) concerning what childes part was left unto mee. To which hee made mee answer, that my father had indeed left him, and my Brother the Colonell, and two other sons by a second wife, and my owne sister, every one somewhat, but to mee nothing, nay that at his death he did not so much as remember mee; which I could not but take to heart, and called to minde the angry and threatening letter which I had received from him in *Spain*, because I would not bee a Jesuite. Though for the present I said nothing, yet afterwards in many occasions I told my Brother I would have the Will produced, and would by course of law dea and a childes part; but hee put me off, assuring me I should never want amongst other my friends and kindred, with whom hee knew I should bee well accommodated as long as I continued in *England*. After few dayes that I had been in *London*, my kinsman at *Cheam*, desired me to come to live with him; where I continued not long; for my Uncle at *Gatton* invited mee to his house, offering mee there meat, drink, lodging, horse and man, with twenty pound a yeare, which hee promised in other waies to make as good as thirty. Here I continued a twelve moneth, refining my self in my native tongue, and (though altogether unknown to my Uncle and kindred) searching into the Doctrine and truth of the Gospel professed in *England*; for which cause I made many journeys to *London*, and then privately I resorted to some churches, and especially to *Pauls* Church to see the service performed, and to heare the Word of God Preached; but so, that I might not be seen, known or discovered by any Papist. When in *Pauls* Church I heard the Organs, and the Musick, and the Prayers and Collects, and saw the Ceremonies at the Altar, I remembered *Rome* againe, and perceived little difference between the two Churches. I searched further into the Common-Prayer, and carryed with me a Bible into the Country on purpose to compare the Prayers, Epistles, and Gospels with a Masse Book, which there I had at command, and I found no difference but onely English and Latin, which made mee wonder, and to acknowledge that much remained still of *Rome* in the Church of *England*, and that I feared my calling was not right. In these my scruples coming often to *London*, and conversing with one *Dade*, *Popham*, and *Crafit*, *Cornel* and *Brown*, English and Irish Dominican Fryers, I found their wayes and conversations base, lewd, light and wanton, like the Spanish and Indian Fryers, which made me againe reflect upon the Popish Church, upheld by such Pillars. I came yet to the acquaintance of one *Price*, Superiour to the Benedictine Monkes, whom I found to be a meer States-man, and a great Politician, and very familiar, private, and secret with the Archbishop of *Canterbury* *William Laud*; in conversation with my Brother, (who belonged then unto one Signior *Con*, the Popes Agent, and was in such favour at the Court, that hee was sent over by the Queen with a rich present to a Popish Idol, named our Lady of *Sieben*, in the *Low Countries*) I heard him sometimes say, that hee doubted not but to bee shortly Curate and Parish Priest of *Coven Garden*, sometimes that he hoped to bee made Bishop in *England*, and that then I should want for nothing, and should live with him, till hee got mee another Bishoprick; by which discourse of his, and by his and other Prelsts favour at Court and with the Archbishop I perceived things went not well, Spanish Popery was much rooted, Protestant Religion much corrupted, and the time not seasonable for me to

discover my secret intents and purpose of heart. At this time coming once from *Surrey* to *London*, I chanced to be discovered and knowne to one of the State-Officers, a Pursevant, who had a large Commission for the apprehending of Seminary Preists and Jesuites, named *John Gray*, who meeting mee one day in *Long Aker*, followed and dogged me as far as *Lincolns Inne* wall, where he clapped mee on the shoulders, and told me, that he had a Commission against mee, to apprehend mee, and carry me to the Councell Table or to one of His Majesties Secretaries. To whom I spoke in *Spanisb* (thinking thereby to free my selfe out of his hands for a *Spaniard*;) but this would not doe, for he replied hee knew mee to be an *English* man born, and by the name of *Gage*, and Brother to Colonell *Gage* and Mr. *George Gage*, and that before he left mee I must speake in *English* to him, he carryed mee to a Tavern, and there searched my Pockets for Letters and mony, which in discourse he told me was too little for him (not being above twelve shilling) and that I must goe with him to answer before one of His Majesties Secretaries. I told him that I would willingly goe before the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, or before Sir *Francis Windbanke*, at which he smiled, saying, I knew well whom to make choice of to favour and protect mee, but hee would carry mee to none of them, but to Secretary *Cooke*. I fearing the businesse might goe hard with me, and knowing him to be greedy of money, told him that I would give him any thing that might content him, and so offered him twelve shillings then about mee, and my word to meet him in any place the next day, with a better and fuller purse. Hee accepted of my money for the present, and further offer for the day following, and appointed the *Angel* Taverne in *Long Aker*, (knowing that I lodged thereabout) to be the place of our meeting, and so dismissed mee. I being free from him, went immediately to my Brother, and told him what had happened unto mee, what money I had already given unto him, and what I had promised the next day following. My Brother hearing me began to chafe and vex, and to fall into furious words against *John Gray*, calling him knave and rogue, and that he could not answer what he had done, and that hee would have his Commission taken from him, chiding mee for that I had given him any money, and calling me young novice and unexperienced in the affairs of *England*. This seemed strange to me, that my Brother should not onely not fear a Pursevant, but should threaten to take away the Commission from him, who was appointed to search for and finde out Preists and Jesuites. Yet I told him I would according to my word and promise meet him the next day, and satisfie him for his faire carriage towards mee; to which my Brother would by no means yeeld, but said hee would meet him; which hee accordingly performed, and although for my sake and promise he gave him some money, yet he brought him before Signor *Com*, and there himselfe and the Popes Agent with him spake most bitter words unto him, and threatned him very much if ever again he durst meddle with mee.

After this my Brother carryed mee to one Sir *William Howard* a Papist Knight, living at *Arundel* gate over *Clements Church*, who was very familiar with Sir *Francis Windbanke*, telling him what had happened unto me, and desiring him to carry me with him in his Coach to Sir *Francis*, and to get his protection for mee. Secretary *Windbanke* understanding who I was, told mee I should feare no Pursevant of them all, and that if I lived quietly in *England*, no body should trouble me, and that *John Gray* was a knave, and wished me if ever he medled with me again to come unto him. Though for the present this was good and commodious for me to have such favour and protection, yet I perceived, this my Brothers power, and this conniving at Preists and Jesuites could not be usefull for mee, if I should publish my mind and purpose to alter my Religion. I was therefore much troubled in mind and conscience, which I found was curbed with the great power of the Papists. I resolved therefore to goe againe out of *England*, and to travell in some other Countries amongst both Papists and Protestants, and to try what better satisfaction I could find for my conscience at *Rome* in that Religion, or in *France* and *Germany* amongst the Protestants. I writ therefore to the Generall of the Dominicans at *Rome*, (without whose License I could not goe thither) that hee would be pleased to send mee his Letters Patents, to goe to conferre some points with him; which hee willingly granted unto mee. I wanted not money from my Uncle (who commended unto mee some businesse to be dispatched for him at *Rome*) for so long a journey, other friends also helped mee; but my chief trust was upon my Brother Colonell *Gage*, then in the *Low Countries*, whom I knew

not, nor had seen him from a child. I had no other passe to take shipping at *Dover*, but onely the letter of a Papist in *London*, (by meanes of one *Popham* a Dominican Fryer) to Sir *John Manwood* his Lady, who was then Governour of *Dover* Castle, and with the foresaid letter suffered mee not to bee troubled, examined or searched, but gave order that I should freely and quietly passe over in the Packet boat to *Duinkerke*, wherewith in foure houres with a good wind I arrived, and from thence by *Newport* and *Bridges* went to *Gant*; not farre from whence my Brother with his Regiment lay in field against the *Hollander*. Hee was glad to see mee, and knowing what journey I was minded to take, furnished mee with more money, and for my Uncles businesse recommended mee to the Marques *De Seralvo* (then at *Brussels*) and to other great men, desiring them to give mee their letters to their friends at *Rome*; from them I got a letter to *Don Francisco Barbarini*, the Popes Nephew, and one of the chief Cardinals then in *Rome*, likewise to Cardinal *Cucua*, and Cardinal *Albornos* both *Spaniards*. With these letters I thought I should have occasion of some conversation with these pillars of the Church of *Rome*, and in discourse might pry into the hearts and wayes of them, and see whether in them were more Policy then Religion. By reason of the Warres between *France* and the *Low Countries*, I durst not make my journey the neerest and shortest way through *France*; but though there were Wars also in *Germany*, I thought that would bee my safest way, and I desired much to looke into the Protestant, and *Lutheran* Church in that Country. Whereupon I resolved from *Brussels* to goe to *Namurs*, and from thence by water to *Leidge*, and from thence to *Collen* in *Germany*. From *Leidge* to *Collen* though wee were twelve in company, wee were much troubled with Souldiers; yet God still delivered me and brought me safe to *Collen*; from whence by the river *Rhine* I went in boat to *Frankesfort* in *September* at the time of that great Fair, where I knew I should meet company of Merchants to any part of *Italy*. In all my travells I never made a more pleasant journey then that which I made by the river *Rhine*, where I had occasion to see many fair and goodly Cities. In *Frankesfort* there I began to take notice of the *Lutheran* Church, and for the space of a fortnight that I stayed there, had many thoughts of discovering my selfe there, and disclaiming Popery, thinking that there I might be sure and safe, and lie hid and unknowne to my Brothers and kindred, who in *England* would not suffer me to live a Protestant. Yet againe I considered how hard it would bee for mee a stranger to subsist there, and to get any livelyhood, for the which I must first get the native tongue, and though many points that were opposite to the Church of *Rome*, pleased me, yet in some points of that Religion my conscience was not satisfied. At the end of the Fair I sought out for company, and found neere a dozen wagons which were upon setting out towards *Ausburg* with goods of Merchants, who had also hired a Convoy of thirty souldiers to goe along with them; which I thought would be safe company for mee; with them, and many other passengers and travellers that went in the Wagons, and on foot, by them, I went as far as the famous and gallant City of *Ausburg*; from whence forward there was no great danger, neither in what part belonged to the Duke of *Bavaria*, nor in the County of *Tirol*: from whence wee passed some foure together to *Trent*; where I was taken with the first Ague that ever in my life I remembred I had, which continued seven months upon mee. I thought from thence to have continued my journey by land to *Venice*, but my Ague suffered mee to goe but to *Verona*; from whence I turned to *Millean*, and so to *Genova*, leaving my good company; that from *Genova* I might goe by Sea to *Ligorne*, and so likewise to *Rome*. After a fortnights stay in *Genova*, I went with the Gallies of the great Duke of *Florence* to *Ligorne*, where I found no boats ready to *Rome*, and so in the mean time, whilst they were preparing, I went to *Pisa* and *Florence* to see those brave Cities, and returned again to *Ligorne*; where I found many boats ready to set out to *Rome*.

The first night and day wee had a faire winde to *Piombino*; but there it turned, and continued contrary for almost three weekes. At last it pleased God to send us a faire wind wherewith wee went out many Boats and Falluco's in company together, thinking all had been friends; but when wee came neereto the Castile of *Montalto*, most of the boats having got before us, two that went in company with the boat wherein I was, suddainly set upon us, and shewed themselves to bee *French* Pirates, who robbed us all, and tooke from mee all the money I had, which was not then above five pound, leaving me some Bills of exchange which I had to take up money at *Rome*; after we

were robbed we called in at *Civita Veccha*; for reliefe, where I met with a good *English* Merchant, who freely bestowed upon mee provision both of wine and meat, as much as would well suffice mee and a friend to *Rome*, whither we got in a day and night. When I came to *Rome* I delivered my Letters to the Cardinals; of whom the two *Spaniards* I found proud and stately; but *Don Francisco Barbarini*, (who was intituled the Protector of *England*) I found more tractable, kinde, and loving. I perceived by his discourse that hee knew much of *England*, and desired to know more; and propounded unto mee many questions concerning the state of this Kingdome, and especially concerning the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, whom he seemed to affect; and yet sometime againe would say hee feared, hee would cause some great disturbance in our Kingdome, and that certainly for his sake and by his means the King had dissolved lately the Parliament (which was that which before this now sitting was so suddainly dissolved by his Majesty) which hee feared, *Scotland* and most of the people of *England*, would take very ill. Hee asked mee further what conceipt the people had of the said Archbishop; and whether they did not mistrust that hee complied much with the Court of *Rome*. And lastly, he told mee that hee thought, the creating of an *English* Cardinal at *Rome* might be of great consequence for the conversion of the whole Kingdome. I laid up in my heart all this discourse, and well perceived some great matters were in agitation at *Rome*, and some secret compliance from *England* with that Court, which I purposed to discover more at large among some friends there.

After this discourse with the Cardinal, I was invited to the *English* Colledge to dinner by one Father *Fitzherbert*, who was then Rector, a great States-man and Politician, with whom I had also great discourse concerning my Brother Colonel Gage, concerning my travels in *America*, and lastly concerning *England*; whereof I perceived little discourse could be had in *Rome*, except the Archbishop *William Laud* had his part and share in it. The Jesuite began highly to praise the Arch-prelate for his moderate carriage towards Papists and Preists, boasting of the free access which one *Simons*, alias *Flood*, a Jesuite had unto him at all houres, and in all occasions; and to extoll him the more, he brought in the Archbishop, *Abbot* whom he cried down as much for a cruel enemy and persecutor of the Church of *Rome*, and of all Papists and Preists. But the now Archbishop, said hee, is not onely favourable unto us there, but here desireth to make daily demonstrations of his great affection to this our Court and Church; which, he shewed not long since in sending a Common Prayer Booke, (which hee had composed for the Church of *Scotland*) to be first viewed, and approved of by our Pope and Cardinals. Who perusing it, liked it very well, for Protestants to be trained in a Form of Prayer and service; yet considering the State of *Scotland*, and the temper and tenents of that people, the Cardinals, (first giving him thanks for his respect and dutifull compliance with them) sent him word, that they thought that form of prayer was not fitting for *Scotland*, but would breed some stir and unquietnesse there, for that they understood the *Scots* were averse from all set Forms, & would not betyed and limited to the invention of mans spirit, having (as they thought) the true and unerring Spirit of God in them, which could better teach and direct them to pray. All this (said Father *Fitzherbert*) I was witness of, who was then sent for by the Cardinals (as in all like occasions, and affaires concerning *England*) to give them my opinion concerning the said Common Prayer Booke, and the temper of the *Scots*. But the good Archbishop (quoth hee) hearing the censure of the Cardinals concerning his intention and Form of Prayer, to ingratiate himself the more into their favour, corrected some things in it, and made it more harsh and unreasonable for that Nation; which we already heare they have stomacked at, and will not suffer it in many parts to be read; and wee justly fear that this his Common Prayer Book, & his great compliance with this Court, will at last bring strife and division between the two Kingdomes of *Scotland* and *England*.

And this most true Relation of *William Laud* late Archbishop of *Canterbury*, (though I have often spoken of it in private discourse and publicly preached it at the Lecture of *Wingham* in *Kent*;) I could not in my conscience omit it here; both to vindicate the just censure of death, which the now sitting Parliament have formerly given against him for such like practises and compliance with *Rome*; and secondly to reprove the ungrounded opinion and error of some ignorant and Malignant spirits, who to my knowledge have since his death highly exalted him, and cryed him up for a Martyr. At the same time whilst I was at *Rome*, I understood of another great business concerning *England*, then in agitation amongst the Cardinals, and much prosecuted by this

this *Fitzberbert*, and one *father Courtney* a Jesuite, son to one *Sir Thomas Leeds*; which was, to create one of the *English Nation* Cardinall; that so the Conversion of *England*, what by the Assistance of *William Laud*, what by the power of a higher person, and what by the authority of the said Cardinall, might be more fully and earnestly plotted and indeavoured. This businesse was much agitated in *England* by Signior *Cou*, at whose house in *Long Aker* were many meetings of the chief Gentry of the Papists. In *Rome* *Sir William Hamilton* then Agent for the *Queene*, vied much for the said Cardinals Cap, and got a great number of friends to further this his ambitious design. But hee was too yong, and some scandall of a Gentlewoman, who stuck too close to him, made the red Cap unfit for his head; and secondly, because a greater then hee, to wit, *Sir Kenelbam Digby* was appointed by the *Queen* to bee her Agent there; who sent before him his Chaplain, a great Politician and active Priest, named *Finon*, to take up his lodging and make way, and friends for his ambitious preferment; who in his daily discourse cryed up his Master *Digby* for Cardinall, and told mee absolutely, that hee doubted not but hee would carry it. But though hee had great favour from the *Queen*, and was her Agent; yet hee had strong Antagonists in *Fitzberbert*, *Courtney*, and the rest of the crew of the Jesuites, who looked upon that honour and red Cap as better becoming one of their profession, and fitter for a head which had formerly wore a four Corned black Cap, to wit, *Sir Toby Matby*. But in case the said Cap should fall from *Sir Toby* his head, then they would helpe and further a third, whose birth and Nobility should advance him before *Sir Kenelbam Digby*, to wit, *Walter Mountague*, the old Earle of *Manchester* his sonne at that time.

And thus it was a generall and credible report in *Rome*, that either a *Digby*, a *Matby*, or a *Mountague*, should that yeere bee made Cardinall. Whereby I perceived that *England* was coming neere to *Rome*, and that my design of professing and following the truth in *England* was blasted, and that in vain I had come from *America* for satisfaction of my conscience in *England*. I was more troubled now then ever; and desired to try all wayes, if I could bee better satisfied concerning the Popish Religion in *Rome*, *Naples* or *Venice*, (whither I went) then I had been in *America* and among the *Spaniards*. But I found such exorbitances and scandalls in the lives of some Cardinals of *Rome*, whilst I was there, especially in *Don Antonio Barbarini*, and Cardinal *Burgeff*, who at midnight was taken by the *Corchetes* or Officers of justice in uncivill wayes, and came off from them with money, that I perceived the Religion was but as I had found it in *America*, a wide and open doore to looseness and policy, and the like in *Naples* and *Venice*, which made mee even hate what before I had professed for Religion, and resolve, that if I could not live in *England*, and there enjoy my Conscience, that I would live in *France*, for a while, untill I had well learned that tongue, and then associate my selfe unto the best reformed Protestant Church; Whereupon I obtained from the General of the Dominicans this ensuing order to live in the Cloister of *Orleans*, intending from thence at my best opportunity to goe to *Paris*, *Lyons*, or some other place, and shake off my Magpy habit, and to live and dye in *France* in the true Protestant and reformed Religion as professed there.

In Dei filio sibi Dilecto Reverendo Patri fratri Thomæ Gageo Provinciae Anglicane Ordinis Prædicatorum, Frater Nicolaus Redulsius totius ejusdem Ordinis Magister Generalis ac servus in Domino salutem.

Conventui nostro Aurelianensi Provincia nostra Francia de probò & optimo Patre Sacerdote providere cupientes, Tenore presentium, & nostri autoritate officii supra nominatum Reverendum Patrem Fratrem Thomam Gageum revocamus te a quovis alio Conventu, & Assignamus in dicto Conventu nostro Aurelianensi Assignatumque declaramus in Nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti, Amen. Mandantes Rdo. admodum Patri Magistro Priori illius, ut te benigne recipiat, & cum omni charitate tractet. • In quorm fidem his officii nostri sigillo munitis propria manu subscripsimus. Datum Suriani die nono Aprilis, 1640.

Frater Nicolaus Magister
Ordinis.

Frater Ignatius Ciantes Magister;
Provincialis Angliæ;
& Socius.

The Forme whereof (as also the manner of sending Fryers from one Cloister to live in another, commonly called by them, an Assignment) is in *English* as followeth.

To our Beloved in the Son of God, the Reverend Father Fryer Thomas Gage, of the English Province, of the Order of Preachers, Fryer Nicholas Rodulphus of the same whole Order Master Generall, and Servant in the Lord, health and greeting.

WE being willing and desirous to provide for our Convent of *Orleans*, of our Province of *France*, of an honest and very good Father and Priest; by Tenour of these present, and by the authority of our Office doe recall you the above named Reverend Fryer *Thomas Gage*, from any other Convent, and doe Assigne you in our said Convent of *Orleans*, and declare you to bee assigned, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. Commanding the very Reverend Father Master Prior thereof, that hee receive you courteously, and entertaine you with all love and charity. In witness whereof with our owne hand wee have subscribed these being sealed with the seale of our Office. Dated at *Soriano* the ninth day of *April*, 1640.

*Fryer Nicholas Master
of the Order.*

*Fryer Ignatius Ciantes Master
Provinciall of England and
Companion.*

Yet after I had got this Order, I bethought my selfe further that I would try one way, which was to see if I could find out a Miracle, which might give mee better satisfaction of the *Romish* Religion, then had the former experience of my life, and the lives of the Priests, Cardinals, and all such with whom I had lived in *Spain* and *America*. I had heard much of a Picture of our Lady of *Loretto*, and read in a Booke of Miracles or lies concerning the same, that whosoever prayed before that picture in the state of mortall sinne, the picture would discover the sinne in the soule, by blushing, and by sweating. Now I framed this argument to my selfe, that it was a great sin, the sin of unbelief, or to waver and stagger in points of Faith; but in mee (according to the Tenents of *Rome*) was this sin, for I could not believe the point of Transubstantiation, and many other; therefore (if the Miracles which were printed of the foresaid Lady of *Loretto* were true, and not lies) certainly shee would blush and sweat, when such an unbeliever as I prayed before her. To make this triall, I went purposely to *Loretto*, and kneeling downe before God, not with any faith I had in the picture; I prayed earnestly to the true Searcher of all hearts, that in his Son *Jesus Christ* he would mercifully looke upon me a wretched sinner, and inspire and enlighten mee with his Spirit of truth, for the good and salvation of my soule; In my prayer I had a fixed and seled eye upon the Ladies picture, but could not perceive that shee did either sweat or blush, wherewith I arose up from my knees much comforted and encouraged in my resolution to renounce and abandon Popery, and saying within my selfe as I went out of the Church, surely if my Lady neither sweat nor blush, all is well with mee, and I am in a good way for salvation, and the miracles written of her are but lies. With this I resolved to follow the truth in some Protestant Church in *France*, and to relinquish error and superstition. Upon which good purpose of mine, I presently perceived the God of truth did smile, with what I heard hee was ordering in *England* by an Army of *Scotland* raised for Reformation, and by a new Parliament called to *Westminster*, at which I saw the Papists and Jesuites there began to tremble, and to say that it would blast all their designs, and all their hopes of setting Popery; *William Laud* his policy was now condemned and cursed, *Con* was dead at *Rome*, the Cardinals Cap for one of the three fore-
named

named was no more spoken of, *Fiton* was daunted, *Fitzherbert* and *Courtney* quite disheartened, Sir *Kenelbam Digby* his Agency and coming to *Rome* put off and suspended and with all this good newes I was much heartened and encouraged to leave off my journey to *France*, and to return to *England*, where I feared not my Brother nor any kindred, nor the power of the Papists, but began to trust in the protection of the Parliament, which I was informed would reform Religion, and make such laws as should tend to the undermining of all the Jesuits plots, and to the confusion and subversion of the *Romish* errors and Religion. I was too weak of body to make my journey by land (by reason of my long Ague which had but newly left mee) and so resolved to goe to *Ligorne* to find out shipping there; where I found foure or five ships of *Englisb* and *Hollanders* ready to set out, but were bound to touch at *Liuboe* in their way. I bargained with one Captaine *Scot* for my passage, first to *Liuboe*, intending there to make a second bargain. We had no sooner sailed on as farre as to the Coast of *France*, joyning to the *Dutchy* of *Savoy*, but presently from *Canes* came out part of a Fleet lying there under the command of the Bishop of *Burdeaux* to discover us, and take us for a lawfull prize. I might say much here of the valour of the good old Captaine *Scot*, who seeing all the other ships had yeilded to the *French* men of Warre, would upon no termes yeeld to be their prize, (which they challenged because wee were bound for *Liuboe*, then their enemies Country) but would fight with them all, and at last rather blow up his ship, then to deliver the goods which had been intrusted to him by the Merchants of *Ligorne*. We were in a posture to fight, our guns ready, and Mariners willing to dye that day, which was heavy news to me. After much treaty between the *French* and our valorous Captain, who still held out and would not yeeld, there came up to us two ships to give us the last warning that if wee yeilded not, they would immediately set our ship on fire. With this all the passengers and many more in the ship desired the Captaine to yeeld upon some faire Articles for the securing of what goods he had for *England*, and should appeare were not any way for the strengthening of any enemies to the State and Kingdome of *France*. With much adoe our Captaine was perswaded, and we were carried with the rest into *Canes* for a lawfull prize. I seeing that the ships were like to bee stayed there long, obtained the Bishop of *Burdeaux* his passe to goe to *Marcellis*, and from thence by land through *France*. Which being granted, I went by water to *Tolon*, and from thence to *Marcellis*, and so in company of Carriers to *Lions*, and from thence to *Paris*, *Rome*, and *Diepe*, where in the first packet boat to *Rye* I passed over to *England*, where I landed upon *Michaelmas* day the same yeere that this present Parliament began to sit the *November* following. My Brothers Spirit I found was not much daunted with the new Parliament, nor some of the proudest Papists, who hoped for a sudden dissolving of it; But when I saw their hopes frustrated by His Majesties consent to the continuing of it, I thought the acceptable time was come for mee, wherein I ought not to dissemble any further with God, the world and my friends, and so resolved to bid adieu to flesh and blood; and to prize Christ above all my kindred, to own and proesse him publicly maugre all opposition of hell and kindred to the contrary. I made my self first knowne to Doctor *Brunwick*, Bishop of *Exeter*, and to Mr. *Shute* of *Lumbarde street*, from whom I had very comfortable and strong encouragements. The Bishop of *Exeter* carried me to the Bishop of *London* then at *Fulham*, from whom I received order to Preach my Recantation Sermon at *Pauls*: which done, I thought I must yet doe more to satisfie the world of my sincerity, knowing that Converts are hardly believed by the common sort of people, unlesse they see in them such actions which may further disclaime *Rome* for ever for the future. Whereupon I resolved to enter into the state of Marriage (to which God hath already given his blessing) which the Church of *Rome* disavowes to all her Preists. What I have beene able to discover for the good of this State I have done, and not spared (when called upon) to give in true evidence upon my Oath against Jesuites, Preists, and Fryers; for the which (after a faire invitation from my Brother Colonel *Gage*, to come over again to *Flanders*, offering mee a thousand pound ready money) I have been once assaulted in *Aldersgate street*; and another time like to be killed in *Shove lane* by a Captain of my Brothers Regiment, named *Vincent Burton*, who (as I was after informed) came from *Flanders* on purpose to make me away or convey mee over, and with such a malicious designe followed mee to my lodging, lifting up the latch and opening the doore, (as hee had scene mee done) and attempting to goe up the staires to my chamber without any inquiry for mee, or knock-
ing

ing at the doore; from whom God graciously delivered me by the weak meanes of a woman my Land-lady, who stopped him from going any further; and being demanded his name, and answering by the name of *Steward*, and my Land-lady telling him from mee that I knew him not, he went away chafing and saying that I should know him, before he had done with mee. But hee that knoweth God well, shall know no enemy to his hurt; neither have I ever since seene or known this man. I might here also write down the contents of a threatning letter from mine own Brother, when hee was Colonell for the King of *England* and Governour of *Oxford*, which I forbear with some tender consideration of flesh and blood. At the beginning of the warres I confesse I was at a stand as a Neophyt and new plant of the Church of *England* concerning the lawfulnessse of the warre; and so continued above a yeere in *London* spending my owne meanes, till at last I was fully satisfied, and much troubled to see that the Papists and molt of my kindred were entertained at *Oxford*, and in other places of the Kings Dominions; whereupon I resolved upon a choice for the Parliament cause, which now in their lowest estate and condition I am not ashamed to acknowledge. From their hands and by their order I received a Benefice, in the which I have continued almost foure yeers preaching constantly for a thorough and godly Reformation intended by them, which I am ready to witnesse with the best drops of blood in my veins, though true it is I have been envied, jealousied and suspected by many, to whom I desire this my Hitory may be a better witnesse of my sincerity, and that by it I may perform what our Saviour Christ spoke to *Peter*, saying, And thou being converted strengthen thy Brethren. I shall think my time and pen happily imployed if by what here I have written, I may strengthen the perusers of this small volume against Popish superstition whether in *England*, other parts of *Europe*, *Asia*, or *America*; for the which I shall offer up my dayly prayers unto him, who (as I may well say) miraculously brought me from *America* to *England*, and hath made use of mee as a *Ioseph* to discover the treasures of *Egypt*, or as the spies to search into the land of *Canaan*, even the God of all Nations, to whom be ascribed by mee and all true and faithfull Beleevers, Glory, Power, Majesty and mercy for evermore: *Amen.*

FINIS.

Some brief and short Rules for the better learning
of the *Indian* tongue called *Poconchi*, or *Po-*
coman, commonly used about *Guatemala* and
some other parts of *Honduras*.



Although it bee true that by the daily conversation which in most places the *Indians* have with the *Spaniards*, they for the most part understand the *Spanish* tongue in common and ordinary words, so that a *Spaniard* may travell amongst them, and bee understood in what hee calleth for by some or other of the Officers, who are appointed to attend upon all such as travell and passe through their townes: Yet because the perfect knowledge of the *Spanish* tongue is not so common to all *Indians*, both men and women, nor so generally spoken by them as their owne; therefore the Preists and Fryers have taken paines to learn the native tongues of severall places and countries, and have studied to bring them to a Form and method of Rules, that so the use of them may bee continued to such as shall succeed after them. Neither is there any one language generall to all places, but so many severall and different one from another, that from *Chiapa* and *Zoques*, to *Guatemala*, and *San Salvador*, and all about *Honduras*, there are at least eighteen severall languages; and in this district some Fryers who have perfectly learned six or seven of them. Neither in any place are the *Indians* taught or preached unto but in their native and mother tongue, which because the Preist onely can speake, therefore are they so much loved and respected by the Natives. And although for the time I lived there, I learned and could speake in two severall tongues, the one called *Cacchiquel*, the other *Poconchi*, or *Pocoman*, which have some connexion one with another, yet the *Poconchi* being the easiest, and most elegant, and that wherein I did constantly preach and teach, I thought fit to set down some rules of it, (with the Lords Prayer, and brief declaration of every word in it) to witnesse and testifie to posterity the truth of my being in those parts, and the manner how those barbarous tongues have, are, and may be learned.

There is not in the *Poconchi* tongue, nor in any other the diversity of declensions, which is in the *Latin* tongue; yet there is a double way of declining all Nownes, and conjugating all Verbes, and that is with divers particles according to the words beginning with a vowel or a consonant; neither is there any difference of cases, but onely such as the said Particles or some Prepositions may distinguish.

The Particles for the words or Nownes beginning with a Consonant are as followeth,

Sing. *Nu, A*, Plur. *Ca. Ata. Qui tacque*. As for example, *Fat*, signifieth a house, and *Tat*, signifieth father, which are thus declined;

Sing. *Nupat*, my house, *Apat*, thy house, *Rapat*, his house. Plur. *Capat*, our house, *Aputa*, your house, *Zuipat tacque*, their house.

Sing.

Sing. *Nut*, my Father, *Atat*, thy Father, *Rutat* his Father. Plural. *Catat*, our Father, *Atata*, your Father, *Quitacque*, their Father. Thus are declined Nownes beginning with a Consonant. As, *Queh*, a horse, *Nuqueh*, *Aqueh*, *Ruqueh*, &c. *Huh*, booke, or paper, *Nuhuh*, *Ahuh*, *Ruhuh*. *Moloh*, Egge, *Numoloh*, *Amoloh*, *Rumoloh*. *Holom*, Head, *Nuholom*, *Aholom*, *Ruholom*. *Chi*, Mouth, *Nuehi*, *Achi*, *Ruchi*. *Cam*, hand, *Nucam*, *Acam*, *Rucam*. *Chac*, flesh, *Nuchac*, *Achac*, *Ruchac*. *Car*, fish, *Nucar*, *Acar*, *Rucar*. *Cacar*, *Acarta*, *Qui cartacque*. *Chacquil*, body or flesh of man; *Nuchacquil*, *Achacquil*, *Ruchacquil*, *Cachacquil*, *Achacquila*, *Quichacquil tacque*.

Some words there are which are pronounced like *ts*, which are written not with *ts*, but with this letter *t3*, peculiar in that tongue; as for *tsi*, dogge, *tsiquin*, bird, *Nutsi*, my dog, *Atsi*, thy dog, *Rutsi*, his dog, *Catsi*, our dog, *Atsita*, your dog, *Quitsi tacque*, their dog. *Nutsiquin*, my bird, *Atsiquin*, thy bird, *Rutsiquin*, his bird, *Catsiquin*, our bird, *Atsiquinta*, your bird, *Quitsi quintacque*, their bird.

There are no severall terminations for cases, as in Latin; but the cases are distinguished with some particles or prepositions, as for example. The house of *Peter*, *Rupat Pedro*, putting the possessours name, and the particle, *Ru*, which is a possessive. So for the dative, add the particle *Re*; as for example, give to *Peter* his dog, *Chaye re Pedro rutsi*. For the accusative, when it is motion to a place, or else not, add *Chi*, as for example, I goe to the house of *Peter*, *Quino chi rupat Pedro*. The Vocative admitteth of this particle *ah*, or *ha*, of wishing or calling, as, O my son, or ho my son, *Ah vacun*, or *havacun*. The Ablative keeping still the same termination with the Nominative, is expressed with some preposition or other, as in my mouth, *pan nuchi*, with my hand, *chi nucam*. In signifying I, is undeclinable, as also *At*, signifying you, or thou. The possessive mine, is also undeclinable, as *vi chin*, mine, or for me; so thine, or for thee, *Ave*. Where note that in this tongue there is no *w*, but *v*, or *u*, are pronounced as *w*, as though wee pronounce, *wacun*, my sonne, *wichin*, mine or for mee, *Ave*, thine or for thee; wee write *wacun*, *wichin*, *Ave*.

The Particles or letters, which serve for Nounes beginning with a Vowell, are as followeth. Singular. *V. Av. R. Pural. C.* or *Qu. Av. ta. C.* or *qu. tacque*, as for example, *Acun*, signifieth son, *Ixim*, Corn, *Ochoch*, likewise house, which are thus declined.

Sing. *Vacun*, my son, *Avacun*, thy son, *Racun*, his son. Plural. *Cacun*, our son, *Avacunta*, your son, *Cacuntaque*, their son.

Sing. *Vixim*, my corn, *Avixim*, thy corn, *Rixim*, his corn. Plural. *Quixim*, our corn, *Avixinta*, your corn, *Quixim tacque*, their corn.

Sing. *Vochoch*, my house, *Avochoch*, thy house, *Rochoch*, his house. Plural. *Cochoch*, our house, *Avochochta*, your house, *Cochochtaque*, their house.

So likewise are varied or declined, *Abix*, signifying a plantation, or peece of ground sown. *Acal*, earth or ground. *Vlen*, also earth or ground. *Acach*, hen. Save onely that the words beginning with *I*, admit *qu*, in the first and third person plurall; the rest admit for the same persons plurall, *C*, onely.

And as thus I have observed for the varying or declining of Nounes; so also doe all the Verbes admit of severall particles for their conjugating, according as they begin either with a vowell or a consonant.

Those that begin with a consonant have somewhat like the Nounes these articles following.

Sing. *Nu*, *Na*, *Inru*. Plural. *Inca*, *Nata*, *Inquitacque*. As for example, *locob*, to love.

Sing.

Sing. *Nalocoh*, I love, *Nalocoh*, thou lovest, *Inrulocoh*, hee loveth. Plural. *Inalocoh*, wee love, *Nalocohta*, yee love, *Inquilocohtaque*, they love.

Nuroca, or *Nurapa*, I whip, or beat. *Naroca* or *Narapa*, thou whippest, or beatest; *Innuroca*, or *Innurapa*, hee whippeth or beateeth. Plural. *Incaroca*, or *Incarapa*, wee whip, or beat; *Narocata*, or *Narapata*, yee whip, or beat, *Inquirocatacque*, or *Inquirapatacque*, they whip or beat.

Nutsiba, I write, *Natsiba*, thou writest, *Innutsiba*, hee writeth. Plural. *Incatsiba*, wee write, *Natsibata*, yee write, *Inquitsibatacque*, they write.

There is no preterimperfect tense, nor preterpluperfect tense; but the preterperfect tense standeth for them, neither is there any Future, but the present tense expresseth it, and is understood for it, according to the sense of the discourse, as *Nulocoh Pedro*, I love or wil love *Peter*. *Tinulocoh*, I love thee, or I wil love thee. Yet sometimes for fuller expression of the Future tense, is added this Verbe, *inwa*, I wil, *nawa*, thou wilt, *Inwa*, he will, as *Inwa nulocoh Pedro*, I will love *Peter*.

The Particles for the Preterperfect tense, are as follow:

Sing. *Ixnu*. *Xa*. *Ixru*. Plural. *Ixca*. *Xa ta*. *Ixqui tacque*. Where note, that in all these particles, and in all this language, the letter *X*, is pronounced like *sh*. as *Ixnu*, like *Ishnu*. *xa*, like *sha*. *Ixru*, like *Ishru*. *Ixca* like *Isha*. and so forth. Preterperf. Sing. *Ixnulocoh*, I have loved; *Xalocoh* thou hast loved, *Ixnulocoh*, he hath loved. Plural. *Ixcallocoh*, we have loved, *Xalocohta*, yee have loved, *Ixnulocohtaque*, they have loved. And so of all the Verbes above.

The Particles for the Imperative Mood are these following;

For the singular number, and second person, *Cha*; for the third person singular *Chiru*, for the first person plural, *Chica*, for the second, *Cha ta*, for the third *Chiqui tacque*: as for example. *Chalocoh*, love thou. *Chirulocoh*, let him love. Plural. *Chicalocoh*, let us love; *Chalocohta*, love yee. *Chiquilotacque*, let them love. And so of the rest of the Verbes above.

The Optative Mood is the same with the Indicative, adding to it this Particle *Ta*, which signifieth as much as *utinam*, or, would to God, as *Nalocoh ta Dios*, would God thou love God; *Ixnulocoh ta Dios*, would God I had loved God.

The Conjunctive Mood also is the same with the Indicative, adding to it this Particle, or Preposition *vei*, and *ta*, if. As for example: *vei nalocoh ta Dios*, if thou love God, *vei ixnulocoh ta Dios*, if I had loved God.

There is no Infinitive Mood, but the Indicative serveth for it. As, *Quinchol nutsiba*, I can write. *Quinquimi*, signifieth to die; *Nuraeh*, I desire, *Nuraeh quinquimi*, I desire to dye.

Note further, that in all Verbes Actives, when mee and thee are expressed as the Accusative case following the Verbe, they are coupled to the person that doeth or goeth before the Verbe, by these two Particles for the present tense, *Quin*, mee, *Ti*, thee. And for the preterperfect tense, *xin*, mee, *ixti*, thee. As for example.

Quinalocoh, thou lovest me. *Xinalocoh*, thou hast loved me. *Quinraalocoh*, thou wilt love me. *Quinalocohta*, love me, or I pray God thou love me. *vei quinalocoh*, if thou love me; *vei xinalocoh*, if thou hast or hadst loved in ee; *Quinaraeh nalocoh*, thou desirest to love me. So for the person being the Accusative. *Tinulocoh*, I love thee. *Ixtinulocoh*, I have loved thee. *Tiranulocoh*, I will love thee. *Tinulocohta*, pray God I love thee; *vei tinulocoh*, if I love thee; *vei ixtinulocoh*, if I have or had loved thee. *Tinuraeh nulocoh*, I desire to love.

Note further, that these two Verbes, *Quinchol*, which signifieth, I can or am able, and *Inwa*, which signifieth I will, when they are put with other Verbes of what

whatsoever person, they are elegantly put impersonally in the third person singular. As for example:

Inchol nulocoh, I can love. *Inrà nulocoh*, I will love. *Ixra ixnulocoh*, I have been willing to love. *Ichol ixnulocoh*, I have been able to love. *Tichel nulocoh*, I can love thee. *Tira nulocoh*, I will love thee.

The Letters or Particles for Verbes beginning with a Vowell, are these that follow.

Sing. *Inv. Nav. Inr. Plural. Ingu. or Inc. Nauta. Ingu tacque, or Inc tacque.* As for example, *Eça*, signifieth to deliver, which is thus formed.

Sing. *Inveça*, I deliver. *Naveça*, thou deliverest, *Inreça*, he delivereth. Plural. *Inqueça*, wee deliver, *Naveçata*, yee deliver; *Inqueça tacque*, they deliver.

A is a simple signifying to wish or desire, or will a thing, which is never found without these particles.

Sing. *Inva*, I will, *Nava*, thou wilt, *Imrà*, he will; Plural. *Inca*, we will, *Navata*, yee will, *Incatacque*, they will. *Ivereh*, to heare, *Invivireh*, I heare. *Navivireh*, thou hearest, *Invivireh*, he heareth. Plural. *Inquivireh*, we heare; *Navivirehta*, yee heare; *Inquivirah tacque*, they heare.

Thus have I briefly set downe the way of declining all sorts of Nounes, and conjugating all sorts of Verbes of this tongue. It remaineth now that I speak of Verbes Actives; their forming and their conjugating with like Particles. The Verbes Actives being of divers terminations, are diversly formed. Commonly those that end with an *A*, cut off the *A*, in the passive, and to the last consonant add *hi*. As for example, *Nuroca*, I whip or beat, the passive is *Quinrochi*. So *Nurapa*, I whip or beat, in the passive is *Quinraphi*. Except *Nutsiba*, I write, which changeth *b* into *m*. *Quintsimbi*, I am written. Those that end in *oh*, change *oh* into *onhi*. As *nulocoh*, I love. *Quinloconbi*, I am loved. So those that end in *ch*, doe change *ch* into *hi*, as *Invivireh*, I hear, *Quinivirhi*. I am heard. *Nucuta*, I teach, *Quincuthi*, I am taught, by the first rule. But those that end in *ça* (where note this letter *ç* or *c*, with a tittle under it, is pronounced like *s*), change the *a* into *ih*. As for example: *inveça* I deliver, *Quineçih*, I am delivered. *Nucamça*, I kill, *Quincamcihi*, I am killed: those that end in *ach*, adde *hi* in the passive, as *Nuçach*, I forgive, in the passive maketh *Quinçachhi*, I am forgiven. The particles that vary, or conjugate the Verbes passives, are these following:

Sing. *Quin. Ti. In. Plural. Coh, or Co. Tita. Quitacque.* As for example: *Quinloconchi*, I am loved, *Tiloconhi*, thou art loved. *Inloconhi*, hee is loved. *Coloconhi*, wee are loved. *Tiloconhita*, yee are loved. *Quiloconhitacque*, they are loved.

Quinrochi, I am beaten or whipped, *Tirochi*, thou art beaten or whipped, *Inrochi*, he is beaten or whipped. Plural. *Corochi*, wee are beaten or whipped, *Tirochita*, ye are beaten or whipped; *Quirochi tacque*, they are beaten or whipped.

The Particles for the preterperfect tense are these following.

Sing. *Xin. Ixti. Ix. Plural. Xoh, or Xo. Ixti ta, xi tacque.* As for example. Sing. *Xinloconhi*, I have bin loved. *Ixtiloconhi*, thou hast bin loved. *Ixloconhi*, hee hath been loved. Plural. *Xoloconhi*, wee have been loved. *Ixtiloconhita*, yee have been loved. *Xilococonhi tacque*, they have been loved. *Xinrochi*, I have been whipped or beaten. *Ixtirochi*, thou hast been whipped or beaten. *Ixrochi* hee hath been whipped or beaten. Plural. *Xorochi*, or *xobrochi*, we have been whipped or beaten, *Ixtarochita*, ye have been whipped or beaten. *Xirochi tacque*, they have been whipped or beaten.

The Imperative Mood is thus:

Tilocoñhi, Bee thou loved, *Chilocoñho*, let him bee loved. Plural. *Chicalocoñho*, let us bee loved, *Tilocoñhota*, bee yee loved, *Chiquilocoñho tacque*, let them bee loved. Where you see the particle *hi* is changed into *ho*.

The Optative Mood, and the Conjunctive are after the manner of the Verbs Actives, by put to *ta* in the Optative, and *vei* in the Conjunctive. As for example.

Quinlocoñhi ta, I pray God I bee loved. *Tilocoñhi ta*, I pray God thou bee loved; *Inlocoñhita*, I pray God hee be loved; *Cohlocoñhita*, I pray God we bee loved. *Tilocoñhitata*, I pray God yee be loved. *Quilocoñhi ta tacque*, I pray God they bee loved.

So in the preterperfect tense *ta* onely is added: as for example.

Xinlocoñhi ta, would to God I have or had been loved. *Ixtilocoñhita*, pray God thou hast or hadst bin loved, *Ixlocoñhita*, Pray God he have or had been loved. Plur. *Xolocoñhita*, pray God we have or had been loved, *Ixtilocoñhi ta ta*, I pray God ye have or had bin loved, *Xilocoñhi ta tacque*, I pray God they have or had been loved. Where note that the particle *Ta*, if any other word or sentence be put with the Verb, may be put before the Verb, as *Nim ta Quinlocoñhi*, I pray God I be greatly loved. Otherwise if the Verbe be alone, *ta* is placed after it.

The Conjunctive Mood is thus, *Vei Quinlocoñhi*, if I be loved, *Vei tilocoñhi*, if thou bee loved, and so forth.

This is all, which commonly is taught concerning this tongue. In which grounds hee that is perfect in, and hath a Dictionary of the severall words of it, may soone learn to speake it. As I shall understand by my best friends, that there is a desire of further printing a Dictionary, I shall satisfie their desires, and apply my self unto it. These few rules for the present I have thought fit to print, for curiosity sake, and that it may appear, how easie the Indian tongues are to be learned. I shall conclude this unparallelled work, with the Lords Prayer in that tongue, and with a brief explication of it.

Catat taxah vilcat; *Nimta incaharçhi avi*; *Inchalitã Avihauripan Cana In-vanivita Nava jahvir vachacal*, he invantaxah. *Chaye runa cahuhunta quih viiz*; *Naçachtacamac*, he incaçachve quimac ximacquirvi chiquib; *Macacac-na chipam cataçchihi*; *Coarvecata china unche stiri*, mani quiro, he inqui. Amen.

Note. *Catat*, according to the rule of declining Nounes, is the first person plural, which is known by the particle *Ca*, added to *Tat*, which signifieth father; and *Catat* is our father.

Taxah signifieth heaven; it is put before the word or verb *vilcat*, for more elegancy sake, and for better placing of it, contrary to the Latin and English, where *es*, and *art*, is put before *in calis*, or in heaven. Likewise it is put without a preposition, contrary to the Greeke, Latin and English: for in this tongue many times the prepositions are omitted and understood.

Vilcat signifieth *es* or *art*; it is the second person of the Verbe, *Syn, es, fui*, which is a Verbe Anomal, and not conjugated after the rule of Verbes above. As for example. *Vilquin*, I am, *Vilcat*, thou art, *villi*, hee is. Plural. *Vilcoh*, wee are, *Vilcata*, yee are, *Vilque tacque*, they are. The Preterperfect tence, *Xirvi*, I have been, *Ixtirvi*, thou hast been, *Ixvi*, hee hath been. Plural. *Xohvi*, we have been, *Ixtirvita*, yee have been, *Xirvi tacque*, they have been. Imperative. *Tivi* or *Tivo*, bee thou; *Chivi* or *Chivo*, let him be. Plural. *Cohvi ta* or *Cohvota*, let us bee; *Tivita* or *Tivota*, bee yee; *Quirvi ta* or *Quivota tacque*, let them bee. The Optative and Conjunctive are according to the Rule above, by adding *ta* or *vei*, to the present tense, and preterperfect tense of the Indicative Mood.

Nim ta Incaharcibi, which signifieth, I pray God may be greatly magnified. *Nim* signifieth great or greatly. *Ta* is *optantis*, or of wishing. *Incaharcibi*, is the third person of the Verbe *Quincaharcibi*, which signifieth to be magnified or extolled; and is formed according to the rule above, from the active verbe, *Nucaharca*, to magnifie or extoll, by changing the last *a* into *ibi*, and adding *quin* the particle of the passive.

Avi thy name. *Vi*, signifieth name, and according to the rule above for Nounes beginning with a Consonant *a* is the particle of the second person.

Inchalita avihauri, let come thy Kingdome, is the proper expression of this in English. *Inchali*, is the third person of the Verbe *Quinchali*, which signifieth to come. *Ta* is as before *optantis*, or of wishing. *Ihauri* or *Ihauric*, signifieth kingdome. *Av*, added, sheweth the second person.

Pan cana, upon our heads. This is a peculiar expression in that tongue; which (as all other tongues) hath many phrases, strange expressions, proper elegancies and circumlocutions. Whereof this one, to say, Let thy Kingdome come upon our heads. *Pam* or *Pan*, is a preposition, signifying in or within, or upon. *Na* signifieth head; *Nuna*, my head, *Cana*, our head, according to the rule above: from whence they call a hat, *Pan Nuna*, as being upon the head.

Invanivi ta Nava, let be done what thou wilt. They have no proper Noun to expresse a mans will, but expresse it by a Verbe: *Invanivi*, is the third person of the Verbe, *Quinvanivi*, which signifieth to be made or done. The Active is *Nuvan*, I doe or make: from whence are formed many passives, as *Quinvan* or *Quinvanbi*, or *Quinvani*, or *Quinvanivi*, or *Quinbanari*; or *Quinvantibi*, whereof this last signifieth to bee done speedily. And so to all Verbes Actives and Passives, this particle *tibi*, is added at the end, to signifie hast or speed in doing any thing. *Nava*, is the second person of the Verbe, *Inva*, I will, according to the rule for verbes beginning with a vowel, *Nava*, thou wilt, *Inva*, he will.

Tahvir vach acal, here upon the face of the earth; *Tahvir*, is an Adverbe signifying here, *Vach*, signifieth face, *Nuvach*, my face, *Avach*, thy face, *Ruvach*, his face. *Acal*, signifieth the earth or ground.

He invan taxah, as it is done in heaven. *He* is an Adverbe, signifying even as, *Invan*, is the third person of the passive Verbe, *Quinvan*, to bee done. *Taxah*, as before, signifieth in heaven without any preposition to it.

Chayeruna, give to day. *Nuye* is the first person of the present tense, signifying, I give, *Cha*, is the particle (according to the rule above) of the second person of the Imperative, Mood. *Chaye*, give thou; *Chyrue*, let him give. *Runa*, to day.

Cahubun ta quih vije, our every day bread, where note that *ca*, put before *huhun* is very elegantly placed, though it doe belong to the word *vije*, which signifieth bread. *Nuviic*, my bread, *Caviic*, our bread. *Huhun* is an undeclined word, signifying every one, or every thing. *quih* signifieth the sun or the day.

Naçach ta camac, I pray God thou forgive our sinnes. They use not here the Imperative Mood, as in *Latin* *demitte*, and in *English* forgive, but with the particle *ta*, of wishing, they use the Optative Mood. *Naçach* is the second person of the Verbe, *Naçach*, I forgive. *Mac*, signifieth sin. *Numac*, my sin or sins, *camac*, our sins. *Laval* is another word in that tongue also to signifie sin.

He inaçachoe quimac, Even as we forgive their sins. *Inaçach* is the first person plural, according to the rule above, for verbes beginning with a consonant, *ve*

is put at the end for elegancy sake. *Quimac* is the third person plural. Where note that in a whole speech or sentence, sometimes the particle *tacque*, observed above in the rule for declining is left out; and sometimes it is added. As here, *quimac* their sins; or else it might have been *quimac tacque*.

Ximacquirvi chiquih, that have sinned against our backs, of *Mac*, signifying sin, is this Verbe formed, *quimacquirvi*, to sin. So likewise of *laval*, sin, is formed another Verb, *quinlavini*, to sin. This Verbe *quimacquirvi* is a Deponent; of which sort there are many in that tongue, as *quincutani*, to preach, which have the same Particles as the Verbes Passives. *Chiquih* is a word compounded of the Prepositron *chi* and *ih*, which signifieth back, and is varied like the Nounes beginning with a Vowell, and joyned with *chi*, signifieth against, as *Chivih*, against mee, *chavih*, against thee, *chirih*, against him. Plural. *Chiqnih*, against us, *chavikta*, against yee, *chiquih tacque*, against them. And if another third person bee named, *chirih*, standeth for against, as *chirih Pedro*, against Peter, that is, against the back. If many be named in the third person Plural, then *chiquih* is used, as *chiquih unche*, or *chiquih cunch elal*, against all.

Macocana, leave us not. This Verbe is here compounded of three: first, *Ma*, is abbreviated from the word *mani*, which signifieth no or not, as likewise *man-chucu*. *Co* or *coh*, signifieth wee or us, and as in the rules before I have observed, is put here before the Verb, which causeth the *n* to be cut off from the verb, which otherwise should have beene *nacana*, of *nucana*, I leave, *nacana*, thou leavest, *inrucana*, he leaveth, and so forth.

Chipam catacchibi, in our being tempted. This is another great elegancy in that tongue to use a Verbe Passive for a Noun, and to add to it a Preposition; as here, *chipam*, which signifieth in; and putting to the Verbe the Particles wherewith the Nounes are varied and declined. *Nutacchih*, signifieth I tempt. The Passive is *quintacchibi*, I am tempted; from whence *nutacchibi*, signifieth my being tempted, or my temptation; *atacchibi*, thy temptation, *rutacchibi*, his temptation, *catacchibi*, our temptation.

Coarvegata china unche tsiri, Deliver us from all evill things. *Invega*, as I have noted before, signifyeth to deliver. *Co* is the first person Plural put before the Verbe, as I observed in the rule above, and in that Conjunction or compound *macocana*. *China* is a Preposition, signifying above or from. *Unche*, signifieth all, which is undecidable. *tsiri*, is an Adjective properly undecidable also or unvariable, in Gender, Case, and Number; as are all Adjectives in that tongue. It signifieth evill or bad; as *tsiri vinac*, an evill man, *tsiri ixoc*, a bad woman, *tsiri chicop*, a bad or evill beast; so likewise in the Plural number it is the same. Without a Substantive it is as the Newter Gender, as *malum* for *malares*, signifying an evill thing, or evill things. The Substantive that is formed from it, is *tsiri quil*, which signifieth evill or wickednesse. *Voronquil*, signifieth the same.

Mani quiro, not good: this is put for a further expression of evils to be delivered from whatsoever is not good. *Mani*, as I noted before, signifieth not. *Quiro*, is as *tsiri*, an Adjective, signifying good or a good thing, and is undecidable, unvariable in both numbers. *Quiro vinac*, a good man, *quiro ixoc*, a good woman, *quiro chicop*, a good beast; so likewise in the plural number, *quiro vinac*, good men. The Substantive that is derived from this Adjective, is, *quirobal*, goodness. *Chiohal*, signifieth the same. *quirolah*, is very good, *tsirilah*, very bad, where *lah* is added at the end of an adjective, it puts the same aggravation as *valde* in Latin.

He inqui, even as he saith. The meaning is, even as hee saith that taught this prayer. *Quinqui*, signifieth I say, *tiqui*, thou saiest, *inqui*, hee saith, *Cohqui*,

wee say, *tiquita*, yee say, *quiquitacque*, they say.

Amen. All words which have no true expression in the *Indians* tongues, are continued in the *Spanish*, or in the proper tongue, as here *Amen*. So wine which formerly they had not, they call *vino*; though by an improper word some call it *Castilana ha*, that is, the water of Castile. So God, they call *Dios* commonly; though some call him *Nim Ahval*, that is, the great Lord.

And thus for curiosities sake, and by the intreaty of some speciall friends, I have furnished the Presse with a language which never yet was printed, or known in *England*. A Merchant, Mariner, or Captaine at Sea may chance by fortune to be driven upon some Coast, where he may meet with some *Pocoman Indian*; and it may bee of great use to him, to have some light of this *Poconchi* tongue. Whereunto I shall be willing hereafter to add something more for the good of my Countrey; and for the present I leave thee Reader to study what hitherto hath briefly been delivered by mee.

FINIS!

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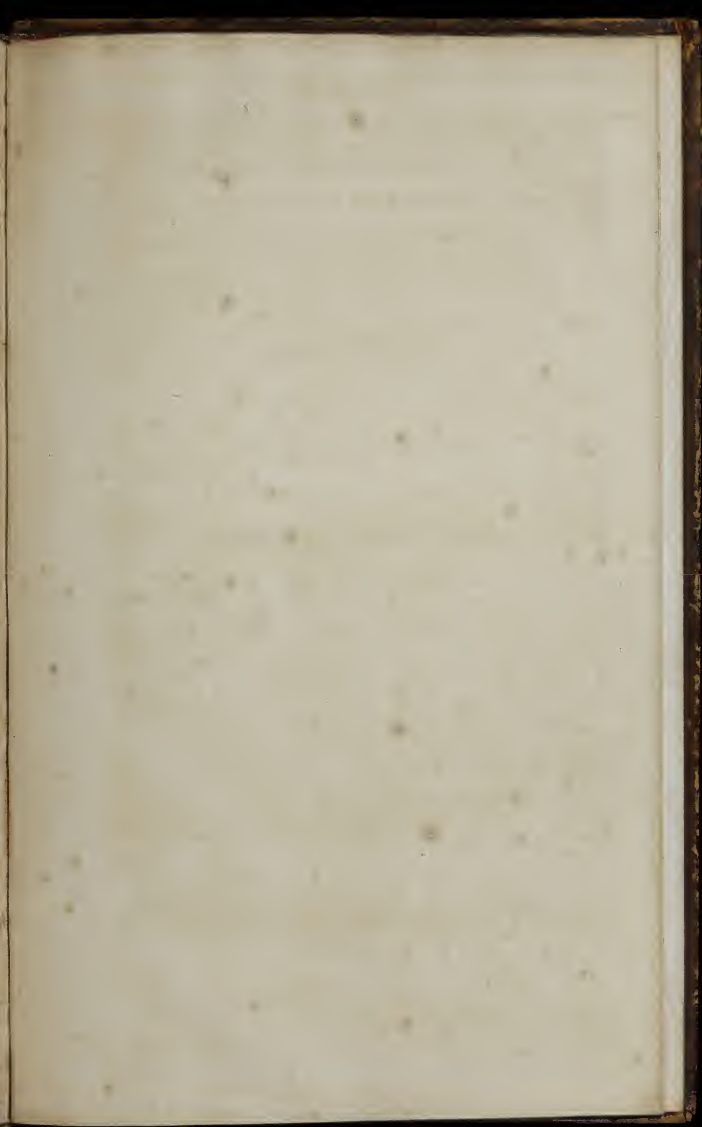
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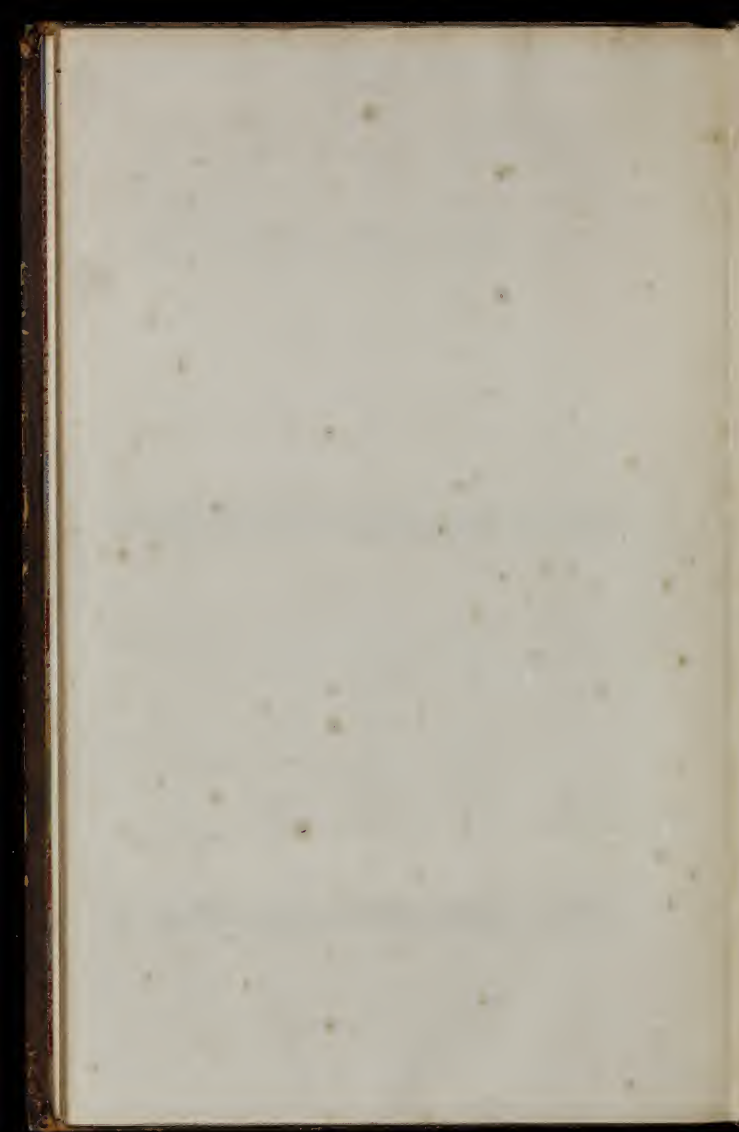
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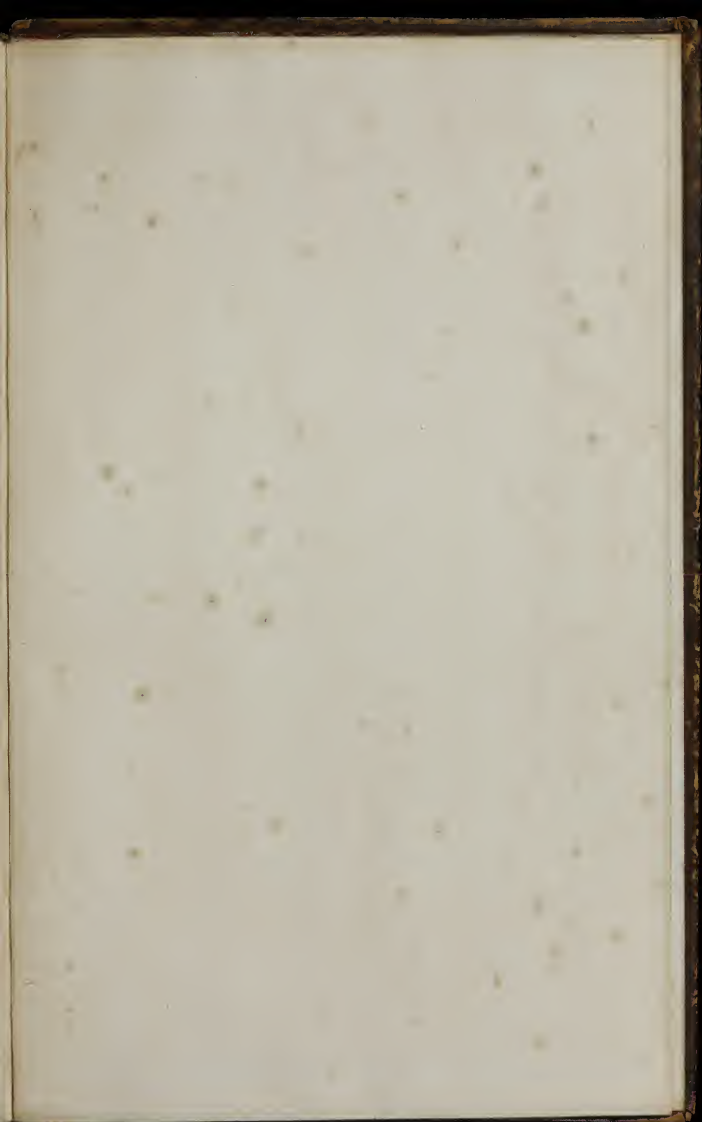
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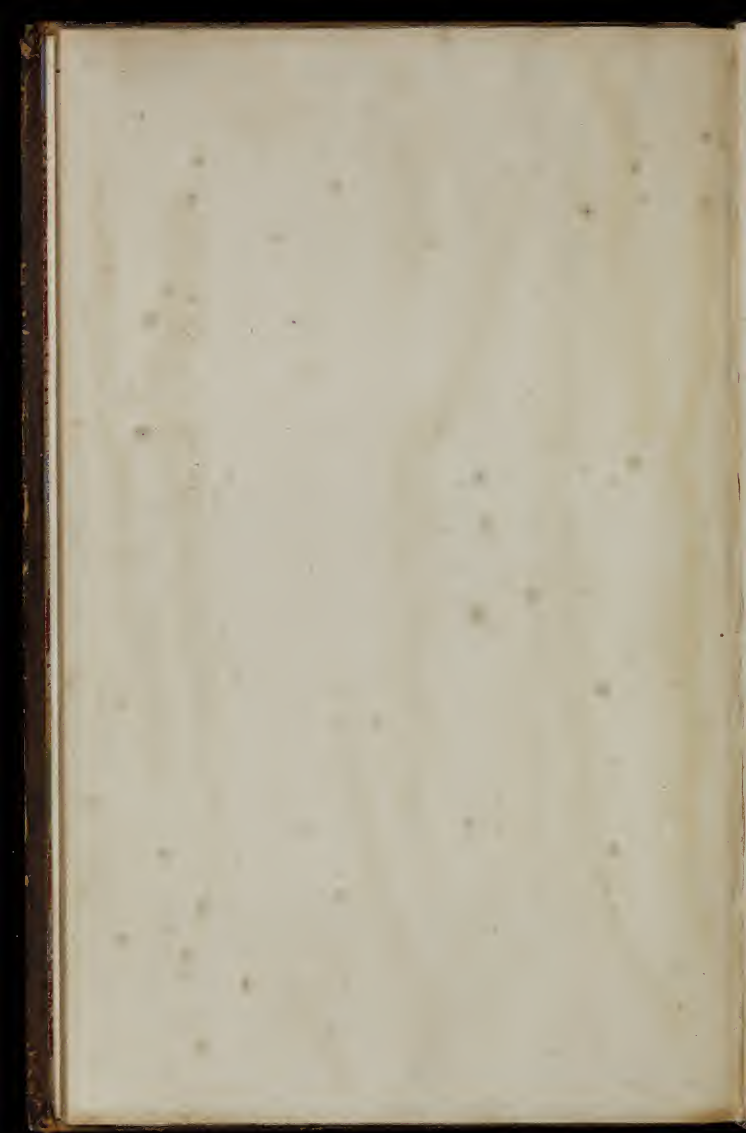
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